

The Reign of Shahu Chhatrapati (1708-1749 AD)

Thesis

**Submitted for the Degree
of Ph. D. of the University of London**

by

A. G. Pawar

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Selected Bibliography

Original MSS

English

The following headings in alphabetical order are from Factory Records, General Records and Public Proceedings of the three presidency settlements. As in many cases, continuous volumes are not available, neither the number of the volume nor the year is mentioned here. My period is 1700 to 1750.

1. Bengal Public Consultations (Range I)
2. Bengal Letters Received
3. Bombay Abstract Letters Received
4. Bombay Copies of Letters Received
5. Bombay Copies of Letters Despatched
6. Bombay Letters Received
7. Bombay Public Consultations. (Range 341)
8. Bombay Select Committee Consultations, Range D
Vol. 46 (1755)
9. Coast and Bay Abstract Letters Received.
10. Correspondence Memoranda
11. Correspondance Reports
12. Court Book
13. Fort St. David Consultations
14. Home Series 456 A
15. Letter Books
16. Madras Letters Received
17. Madras Public Consultations (Range 239, 240)
18. Miscellaneous Letters Received
19. Miscellaneous (F. R. 3 A. 1676 - 1708)

Br. Mus. Add. MSS 26, 482

Br. Mus. Add. MSS 26, 489

Br. Mus. Add. MSS 26, 495

Original Printed

English :

Records of Fort St. George

1. Country Correspondence
2. Letters from Fort St. George
3. Letters to Fort St. George
4. Public Despatches to England
5. The Dutch in Malabar
6. Press List of Ancient Dutch Records in Madras. Aitchison, Treaties, Engagements and Sanads (Vol. VIII). Forrest, Selections from State Papers, Bombay Maratha, Series Vol. 1

Selections of the Records of the Bombay Government (New Series)

Portuguese :

Biker, Collecção de Tratados e Concertos de Paz Tomo VI

French :

A. Martineau : Correspondence du Conseil Supérieur
de Pondicherry Tomos 1-4
Letters of Conventions.

Marathi :

From the Government Record at the Alienation office, Poona, almost every paper of Shahu's period has been printed. All the publications of the papers selected from the Record are as follows :

1. Selections from the Peshwa Daftar :

- Vol. 2** Letters and Despatches relating to the Battle of Panipat
(1747-1761)
- Vol. 3** Shahu's Campaign against the Sidis of Janjira
(1733-1736)

- Vol. 6** Ramraje's Struggle for Power
- Vol. 7** Early Activities of Shahu and Balaji Vishvanath (1707-1720)
- Vol. 8** Shahu in his Private Life
- Vol. 9** Bajirao and his family (1720-1740)
- Vol. 10** Early Strife between Bajirao and the Nizam
- Vol. 11** Shahu's relations with Sambhaji of Kolhapur
- Vol. 12** The Dabhades and the Conquest of Gujarat
- Vol. 13** Bajirao's entry into Malwa and Bundelkhand
- Vol. 14** Maratha Conquests in the North
- Vol. 15** Bajirao's advance upon Delhi
- Vol. 16** The Bassein Campaign
- Vol. 17** Shahu and Bajirao - Administrative
- Vol. 18** Private Life of Shahu and the Peshwas
- Vol. 20** The Bhosales of Nagpur (1717 - 1774)
- Vol. 21** Balajirao Peshwa and Events in the North (1741-1761)
- Vol. 22** Extracts from the Peshwas' Diaries
- Vol. 23** Balaji Bajirao - Administrative
- Vol. 24** The Peshwas' Commitments on the West Coast
- Vol. 25** Balaji Bajirao Peshwa and the Nizam (1740-1761)
- Vol. 26** Tarabai and Sambhaji (1738-1761)
- Vol. 27** Balajirao Peshwa and events in the North
(1742-1761) - Supplementary
- Vol. 28** Peshwa Balajirao - Karnatak Affairs (1740-1761)
- Vol. 30** Bajirao I, Miscellany
- Vol. 31** Papers selected from the Jamao Sections
- Vol. 33** Shahu's Campaign against the Sidis of Janjira
(1733-1736), Supplementary
- Vol. 34** The Bassein Campaign (1737-39), Supplementary
2. Balaji Bajirao's Diary, Vol. 1-2
3. Itihas Sangrah, Peshwe Daftarantil Nivadak Kagadpatre

(Items selected from the Peshwa Daftar)

4. Kaifiyati, Yadi Vagaire (Memorandums)
5. Sanada Patre (Sanads and Letters)
6. Shahu's Diary (Rojanisi)
7. Taha Karar Madar (Treaties, Agreements and Sanads)
8. Watanpatre Nivadpatre (Grants and Decisions)

Aitihāsik Sankirna Sahitya, Vol. I

Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, Poona

Yearly Reports

Minutes of Proceedings

Quarterlies

Brahmendra Swami, Life and Letters

Chitnis' - Sambhaji and Rajaram

Chitnis' - Shahu

Itihas Aitihāsik

Itihas Sangrah

Jedhe Shakavali (Chronology)

Purandhare Daftar, Vol. I

V. K. Rajwade, Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane

Vol. 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21

Shivacharitra Sahitya Vol 1-4

Perasian etc. (Translations, extracts etc.)

Briggs J. History of the Rise of Mahomedan Power
in India, till the year A. D. 1612.

Translated from the Original Persian of
Mahomed Kasim Ferishta, 4 Vols. (1829)

Elliot and Dowson : The History of India as told by its own
Historians, Vols. VII, VIII

Indian Antiquary : Hiwan Theang's account of Pulikesi II and
Maharashtra, Vol, VII

Scott J.

Ferista's History of Dekkan.

Secondary

English :

- (Amonymous) A faithful narrative of the capture of the Ship Derby (1738)
- Acworth H. A. Ballads of the Marathas (1894)
- Anderson P. The English in Western India (1856)
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- Balkrishna Shivaji the Great, Vol. I Pt. 1-2
- Barway N. W. Life and Times of Shivaji II
- Barway N. W. Subhedar Malharrao Holkar
- Bhandarkar R.G. Early History of the Deccan (1895)
- Bombay Gazetteers
- Bruce Annals of the Honourable East India Company, 3 Vols. (1810)
- Cambridge(R.O.) An Account of the War in India (1761)
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- Danvers F. C. The Portuguese in India, 2 Vols.
- Douglas J. Bombay in Western India, 2 Vols.
- Downing J A Compendious History of the Indian Wars (1737)
- Graham D. C. Statistical Report of the Principality of Kolhapur (1854)
- Grant Duff (J.) A History of the Mahrattas, 3 Vols. Second Ed. 1918
- Gribble J. D. B. History of the Deccan, 2 Vols.
- Grose J. A Voyage to the East Indias, 2 Vols. Second Ed. (1772)
- Hamilton A. A New Account of the East Indies, 2 Vols. (1727)

Imperial Gazetteers

Irvine W.	Later Mughas, 2 Vols.
Jervis	Geographical and Statistical Memoir of the Konkan (1840)
Justamond J. O.	A Philosophical History of the Settlements of the Europeans in the East and West Indies, 5 Vols. Seconded. (1776)
Kincaid & Parasnis	A History of the Maratha People, 3 Vols.
Linguistic Survey of India	
Malcolm Sir J.	A Memoir of Central India, 2 Vols. Third Ed. (1832)
Manucci	Storia do Mogor
Modern Review	
Orme	A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan, 5 Vols. III rd Ed. (1780)
Pillai Anand Ranga	The Private Diary of..... Vols. 1-6
Pinkerton	Voyages and Travels
Ranade M. G.	Rise of the Maratha Power (1900)
Rennell J.	Memoir of a Map of Hindostan (1788)
Sarkar Sir J.	History of Aurangzeb, 5 Vols. (1924)
Scott Jonathan	An Historical and Political view of the Deccan (1798)
Sen S.	Administrative System of the Marathas (1925) Military System of the Marathas (1928) A Preliminary Report on the Historical Records at Goa Studies in Indian History
Sinha H. N.	Rise of the Peshwa
Taka khav and Keluskar	The Life of Shivaji Maharaj (1927)
Tod	Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, 2 Vols.(1829)
Thornton	Gazetteer of India

Marathi :

Anatya Bavadekar Yanchi Kaifiyat	
Athavale	Angre Gharanyancha Itihas
Bhagvat	Satarachya Pratinidhi Gharanyancha Itihas, 2 Vols.
Behare	Pahile Bajirao
Dabhadyanchi Hakikat	
Dalavi	Marathi Kulancha Itihas
Gaikwadanchi Hakikat	
Holkaranchi Kaifiyat	
Khare	Jantri
Lele	Dhar Sansthancha Itihas
Marathi Samrajyachi Choti Bakhar	
Marathi Daftar, 2 Vols.	
Modak Jantri	
Pantpradhan Shakavali	
Pantpratinidhi Kaifiyat	
Parasnis	Marathyanche Armar
Parasnis	Marathyancha Parakram
Parasnis	Prachin Marathe Sardar
Peshvyanchi Bakhar	
Rajwade V. K.	Aithihasik Prasthavana
Rajyayavahar Kosh	
Sardesai G. S.	Marathi Riyasat, Purvardha
Sardesai G. S.	Marathi Riyasat, Madyavibhag, 4 Vols.
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Sasthichi Bakhar	
Shivacharitraratap	
Shivadiguijaya	
Tarkunde	Kshyatriya Gharanyacha Itihas

Marathi Periodicals :

Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal Traimasik

Bharat Varsh

Kavyetihās Sangrah

Kesari

Maharashtra Sahitya

Prabhat

Ramdas Ramdasi

Sarasvati Mandir

Abbreviations

Few abbreviations are used, and they are obvious. The following list, however, may be useful.

Bom. Pub. Con. Bombay Public Consultations

Correspondance Correspondance du Consoil Superiour de
Pondicherry

Itihas Sangrah

Peshwe Daftar Peshwe Daftaratil Sanadapatratil Mahiti

Sel. Pesh. Daf. Selection from the Peshwa Daftar.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Shivaji University was established on 18th November 1962. The year 2011-12 is being celebrated as the Golden Jubilee Year of the University. Dr. Appasaheb Pawar was the founder Vice-Chancellor of the University. Department of History decided to publish the Doctoral thesis of Dr. A. G. Pawar which was submitted to London University in 1934. Prof. A. R. Bhosale took keen interest in publication of the thesis, Mrs. Dr. N. D. Parekar made efforts to procure a xerox copy of the thesis during her visit to London in 2005. Authorities of London University and the school of Oriental and African Studies extended all kind of help and support for this purpose.

It must be pointed out here that the thesis of Dr. A. G. Pawar has not been changed anywhere. However, some typographical errors were corrected wherever necessary. We are grateful to Prof. Jayprakash Shinde, Professor and former Head of English Department and Prin. D. R. Konnur for meticulously going through the manuscript of the thesis. Prof. A. R. Bhosale, Prof. Umesh A. Kadam and Dr. Avinash Patil carefully checked the D. T. P. copy of the thesis.

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FOREWORD

It gives me great pleasure to write a foreword to this memorable work of Late Dr. Appasaheb Pawar the founder Vice-Chancellor of Shivaji University, established in 1962. One of the major objectives behind the foundation of this University has been to cater to the regional needs of Western and Southern Maharashtra. Late Dr. A.G. Pawar is regarded as a visionary of Shivaji University through his work and his contributions. He was one of the pioneering scholars who unearthed Maratha History and has made significant contribution to the studies of Maratha History. As a founder Vice-Chancellor of this university it was his dream to have an advanced Centre for Maratha history in the university campus and it was under his leadership that the Department of History, Archival Cell and the Chh. Shahu Research Centre were established.

Shivaji University is celebrating 2011-12 as its Golden Jubilee Year and on this occasion we wish to commemorate the Magnum opus work of Late Dr. Appasaheb Pawar entitled "The Reign of Shahu Chhatrapati (1708-1749 AD)" in the book form. Dr. A.G. Pawar had submitted this work as a Doctoral thesis to the London University in 1934. It must be noted here that in 1934 there was no comprehensive work done by scholars on this theme. This work encompasses a micro scale approach to the study of an important phase of Maratha History. It's indeed an honour for us to publish this work as a Shivaji University publication. I hope this will give greater encouragement to young scholars working in this field of specialization and help to mark new milestones in the history of Shivaji University and fulfill the dreams of Dr. Appasaheb Pawar.

I take this opportunity to compliment all the persons involved in the making and publishing of this work. I sincerely place on record my respect to this great work and the author Late Dr. A.G. Pawar.

Date: April 10, 2013
Place: Kolhapur


(N.J. Pawar)
Vice-Chancellor

Preface

Captain James Grant Duff published his memorable *History of the Mahrattas* in 1826. In 1898, Mr. Irvine wrote :

Since the days of Grant Duff :

"Fortunately, the history of the Mahrattas having once for all been written by Captain Grant Duff, it is unnecessary for me to burthen myself with much research on the subject " (Later Mughals Vol. 2, P. 155) Native scholars, however, did not agree with Mr. Irvine's view and they did "burthen" themselves with the task. Consequently an industrious search for old papers in vernacular languages - particularly in Marathi - was undertaken and has been a subject of research for sometime. The toils have been fruitful, and a large mass of new material has been unearthed. "The net result is" says Sir J. Sarkar "today Grant Duff's account of the early or kingly period of Maratha history (1625-1707) has become to a large extent obsolete, the pre-panipat (or early Peshwa) period has to be very largely re-written and many gaps in it filled up and the post-panipat (or later Peshwa) period 1761-1817 has to be modified and supplemented, though to a smaller extent." (Foreword to selections for the Peshwa Daftar, P. 1). As regards to what Sir J. Sarkar describes as the early Peshwa period (1707-1761) his remarks are borne out even by the lightest research in those years.

Maratha Scholars :

This research dates back to 1872-73. In those years, an Adnyapatra (royal order) of Sambhaji II was published in the Marathi periodical, Vividhadnyanvistar, under the heading "Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhano" (Sources of Maratha History). The work was a 'sangrah', collection edited by Rao Bahadur Sano. A number of original letters and other documents concerning the history of the Marathas were published in this periodical. These are known as "Kavyotihās - Sangrah Patro Yadi Vagalro" and have been reprinted separately (1930). In 1898, Rao Bahadur Parasnis started another historical magazine called Bharat-Varch, in which were published some very important old papers, many of which were Shahu's orders and letters. This series of letters etc. is

known as "Bharat Varsh Patre Yadi Vagaire". At the beginning of the new century, the indefatigable V. K. Rajwade appeared who "spent a life-time tramping on foot from village to village collecting old documents". This invaluable collection appeared in print under the name of "Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane" (Sources of Maratha History) and filled 22 volumes. In 1908, D. B. Parasnis started another historical publication called "Itihas Sangrah". For eight years, the scholar published various old papers and then the publication was stopped. Among these papers were included some from the Peshwa Daftar. About this time, Rao Bahadur G. C. Vad commenced publishing "Selections from the Satara Rajas and Peshwas' Diaries" which are better known by their shorter title "Peshwas' Diaries". Mr. Vad's work was continued after his death by Messers Parasnis and Mawjee, and many other selections from the Alienation Office (Poona) Records were published. In 1930 the government of Bombay undertook the publication of "Selections from the Peshwa Daftar" (Poona). Some 40 volumes have been printed and a few more are yet to come. (All bearing on Shahu's period have been published.) During all these years, another important body, viz. the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal of Poona, has been doing inestimable work by publishing original historical material, collected from private sources. Such Marathi periodicals as Vividhadnyanvistar, Ratnakar and Maharashtra Sahitya have published from time to time old letters and other papers. Lastly, devoted workers like K. V. Purandare, who has recently published the Purandare Daftar, 2 Vols. (1920-30), are also contributing their share to the increasing fund of raw material.

Material Concerning Shahu's Period :

The original Marathi material concerning Shahu's Period is as follows.

(1) Selections from the Peshwa Daftar (30 Vols.)

(2) Shahu's Diary (Rojanisi)

(3) Balaji Bajirao's Diary (2 Vols.)

(4) Taha Karar Madar (Treaties, Agreements and Sanads). Vatanpatro, Nivadpatro (Grants and Decisions), Sanadapatro (Sanads and Letters) and Kaifiyat Yadi Vagaire (Memorandums) all these are selections from the Government Records in the Alienation Office, Poona.

(5) Itihas Sangrah, "Peshwe Daftaratil Sanadapatratil Mahiti" (Items collected from the Sanadas and Letters in the Peshwa Daftar)

(6) Kavyelihas - Sangrah Patre Yadi Vagaire

(7) Bharat-Varsh Patre Yadi Vagaire

(8) Rajwade, Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane

(Vols. 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21)

(9) Purandare Daftar (Vol. 1)

(10) The publications of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, in particular, Shivacharitra - Sahitya (Vols. 4), Sammelan - Vratya (proceedings of the meetings) and the quarterly issues

(11) Life and Letters of Brahmendra Swami, which contain 375 letters, written to and by the Swami. Some of them are very important.

Nature of these papers :

The papers included in these publications are day-to-day records of events (Diaries); orders of the King; his letters sent from camps and battle-fields; news-letters sent from the enemy's camp; reports of spies; consultations; decisions; accounts; judicial proceedings; and other items describing the affairs of the State. In all, there are over 10,000 printed pages of ordinary size. Their contents shed a fresh light on the history of the period. That the Marathas had a well-established governmental system is shown by the fact that minute and exact details of their day-to-day business were regularly recorded.

Muslim Historians :

The necessity of discussing this material at such a length lies in the fact that it constitutes the main source of Shahu's history. The Mohammedan histories, which up to the beginning of the 18th century were in their narratives, become suddenly abrupt. 'From the commencement of the reign of Aurangzeb', wrote Sir Malcolm, 'the Mohammedan writers cease to be so minute in their detail, as they are at the former and more prosperous periods of the Moghul empire. The theme was not inviting, and their hostile feelings towards the Mahrattas

have made them general and unfaithful narrators of the success of that people" (Central India, Vol.1, P. 58). Mr. Irvine (Later Mughals, 2 Vols.) has exhausted the Muslim histories for the first forty years of the century. I have made use of Elliot and Dowson's translations, particularly that of Khafi Khan. (Among Elliot papers, Br. Mus. Add. 26, 615-16, a summary translation of Khafi Khan's history is given. There are some differences between it and that of Dowson's; Vol. VII).

European sources :

The case of the European sources is different. They are as important as the Marathi material. Prominent among these foreign sources are the records of the English and the Portuguese Settlements, which came in close contact with Shahu's men. The extant records of the E. I. Company are a veritable mine. What use I have made of them can be easily seen by examining a few footnotes. Most of the Portuguese records concerning my period have (fortunately) already been translated into English through the industry of Mr. F. C. Danvers. Relevant portions of documents such as Biker Vol. VI, the French correspondence, Letters, Conventions which were not available in English translations had to be translated.

Native and Foreign material :

When the Marathi material is used with the help of the European, the results are very satisfactory. The Marathas had not appreciated the value of real history. Their accounts are snappy, broken and often incomplete. The worst defect of the Marathi papers is that many of them are undated or insufficiently dated; that is to say, a day or month or both are mentioned while the year is omitted or vice versa. These lacunae can often be filled by referring to the English or Portuguese records. To give one particular instance, the Maratha campaigns against the Portuguese (1737-39) are so minutely described in the Marathi papers - almost all of them were written by men on the spot - that even the English and the Portuguese accounts are not so full. (Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 16, 34). But the absence of a date in a letter has often lessened its importance by creating doubts as to what particular occasion it referred to. The European material, on the other hand, is precise and exact and is free from the gross defects which are seen in the native material. The use of both, as supplementary sources of information, rarely leads one to wrong

conclusions.

Marathi MSS :

Upto now, I have not said anything about the Marathi Bakhars (Shahu's, Peshwas' and other generals' Bakhars) for the simple reason that I have not relied on them nor followed them, excepting when their verity is obvious. For the same reason, I shall not say anything about the many volumes of Marathi MSS in the India Office Library and a few in the British Museum (Oriental MSS.). I have gone through all of them, which relate to my period; but none of them are original or reliable. Many of them are copies of each other and contain nothing more than traditional accounts. They are no better than ordinary Bakhars.

Collections :

Another class of source consists of Orme, Mackenzie and Minor European Collections of MSS. in the India Office Library. The industry of the gentlemen who made those collections was tremendous, and a good deal of material is brought together. As far as Shahu's period is concerned, however, there is nothing to be learnt from these collections. Nay, an unwary reader, closely studying these pages may sometimes unlearn history. Here is one specimen: "Sahojee (Shahu) who married Tara Baee (Tarabai) but had no Children. In this (? his) reign the Mookh Pradhan or Peshwa found means to usurp the whole power of the Government. This was the famous Ballojee Vishwanath Sahojee dying in 1740 was succeeded by his cousin Ram Raja" (India Office Library, MSS. Eur. C. 10)

A new contribution to the subject :

After making this brief mention of the nature of the sources, I may add that there is no dearth of material for the study of the Maratha History. On the contrary, so much material of unimpeachable character is available that it is difficult to press it all in service, within a given scope. Mainly for this reason, I have not dealt with the oft-repeated political events in Shahu's reign, nor have I given long descriptions of those that I have touched. I have added only what new information I could gather regarding those events. I have thus saved the space for recounting the less known and even unknown phases of the King's reign. As an instance of my

Chapter - 1

RISE OF THE MARATHA NATION

The English and the Marathas :

It is aptly remarked¹ that the establishment of an English Factory at Surat in 1612² and the birth of Shivaji at Shivneri³ in 1627 were unimportant events when they occurred; but they were the sources of the rise of two great powers in India, one European and the other native, who were destined to fight one day for supreme authority in the country. Shivaji founded an independent kingdom and ceremoniously ascended its throne in June 1674. His successors conquered new and extensive territories and by 1741, his grandson Shahu's troops "reached the gates of the Court of Delhi and Court of Agra, penetrated the Kingdom of Bengal and placed the Peninsula under tribute".⁴ Before Shahu died in Dec. 1749, the house of Shivaji attained the plenitude of its power.⁵ Meanwhile, the United East India Company, which emerged out of the union of the Old Company and the New in 1709 was fortifying its possessions and extending its sphere of influence. Its original motto viz., "our business is merchandizing not War"⁶ could not be strictly adhered to when the political troubles in the country began to injure its commercial interests. Here defence of trade necessitated the permit of offensive operations.⁷ The last quarter of the 18th century found the English and the Marathas in sharp opposition to each other and before the first quarter of the following century was over, "the more organised foreign power"

1) Justice Ranade, Rise of the Maratha Power : Preface.

2) The first treaty between "four principal Merchants" of the Company and the Mughal governor of Surat and Ahmadabad was made on Oct. 21, 1612, "for settling of trade and factories in the cities of Surat, Cambay, Amadanar, Gogo" Aitchison, Treaties, Engagements and Sanads; Vol. VII, PT. 339, 356-58.

3) About 140 m. S. Surat.

4) Viceroy of Goa's letter to the King of Portugal. sept. 20, 1741 (n.s.); NSS. Portuguese Records; "Conhelho Ultramarino" Vol. I, Pt. I.

5) Mr. Grose, who witnessed the progress of the Marathas in 1750 says, " (they are) at present so powerful that they have brought near all Hindostan under their subjugation and give laws to the Mogul government". His Travels, Vol. I, P. 75.

6) See Co. to Bom. March 27, 1713; Letter Book Vol. 15, P. 70.

7) See Anderson's The English in Western India, P. 391.

contribution to the subject I can assert that this is the first time that the private and the public life of a Maratha king has been so minutely described (Chapt. 7 supra.) In the rest of the chapters too, my contribution (I hope) will be easily seen.

Discussion and Criticism :

In giving a new interpretation of an old fact or a description of a new one, numerous occasions arise for criticizing old writers. On some occasions, I have made full criticism. But generally speaking, I have not stopped to show how and where my statements differ from those of others. I have always given good authority for the statement and frequently quoted or translated the exact words. I am conscious that the quotations have sometimes been long or numerous. But I have never quoted any secondary authority and in nine cases out of ten, the quotation is a translation of a Marathi paper. I have followed this practice of reproducing exact words to avoid the necessity of criticizing different or opposite statements of others. I have however added copious footnotes to every page, which I have used for the purposes of criticism and discussion.

To summarize what I have said -

- (1) I have exhausted all the Marathi material available for Shahu's period, the same being the primary source;
- (2) I have used the European sources to an equally great extent;
- (3) I have presented the entire subject in a new light;
- (4) and I have made ample criticism and entered into numerous discussions, generally in the footnotes; but I have not stopped at every step to show where I differ from others.

• • •

triumphed over the disorganized native forces and became the supreme ruler. Hence, Grant Duff calls the Marathas "our immediate predecessors in conquest"⁸.

But the Marathas were no alien conquerors. They were the sons of the soil, Maharashtra. This latter name has been a subject matter of various interpretations.⁹ During Shahu's times, Maharashtra always meant the country of the Marathas, and Shahu was called "The King of Maharashtra".¹⁰ The ancient boundaries of this country are not known.¹¹ In modern times, it is the name of the territory between the Narbada on the north and a variable line along the course of Krishna to the south, exclusive of the provinces lying to the extreme east.¹² It includes the narrow strip of land between the Western Ghats and the sea, known as the Konkan. Guarded on the north by the lofty Vindhya and Satpura ranges, to the west it is a country of "gorge and mountain". The Sahyadris run parallel to the western coast for many hundred miles and afford a natural line of fortification. The hill forts, once famous in the history of the Marathas, stand on these eminences. Behind these hills and further east the country assumes a more even shape, but it is mostly barren, and though intersected by numerous rivers, is scantily watered. The area of the country, determined on the test of language which is Marathi, comes to about 100, 100 sq. miles.¹³ Its climate is bracing; its soil poor; and its inhabitants a sturdy race.

8) A History of the Mahrattas, Preface.

9) See Dr. Bhandarkar's Early History of the Dekkan in Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, Pt. 2; P. 143; and Idem Vol. XXIV, P. 81.

10) Thus, in 1733, when the English governor of Bombay was approached by the Marathas for help against the Sidis, the governor refused to assist "the King of Maharashtra". Letter to Peshwa, Aug. 17, 1733; Sol. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 33. Entry No. 83. Similarly when Shahu died in 1749 a contemporary general observed, "the kingdom of Marhata will not have another king like Shahu". Letter to Peshwa, Feb. 22, 1750. Idem Vol. 28, Entry No. 59. See also Shahu's Diary PP. 217-18.

11) In the 7th century the Chinese pilgrim Hiwan Tshang visited "The kingdom of Mo-ho-la-cha" which is said to be the same as Ma-ha-rash-tra. He says that it was nearly 6000 li (1200 miles) in circuit. Indian Antiquary Vol. VII, P. 290.

12) Justice Ranade gives a graphic description of the boundaries. "The country" he says, "forms a sort of triangle of which the Sahyadri range and the sea from Daman to Kewar form the base; the Satpurarange forms the perpendicular side, reaching to the east beyond Nagpur as far as the watershed of the Godavari and its tributaries extend and the hypotenuse which joins these two ranges has been determined not so much by natural features as by the test of language." Rise of the Maratha Power, PP. 19-20.

13) Linguistic Survey of India Vol. VII.

The Marathas :

These inhabitants are the Marathas. The name 'Maratha' though variously understood, has two distinct meanings. It is both a caste and a national cognomen. As a caste, it sometimes designates the descendants of the 96 families or clans of Shivaji's warriors entitled to the dignities of the Kshatriyas; but more often, it includes the Kunbis or the cultivating class.¹⁴ As a national cognomen - and as such it is used in these pages - it is a conglomerate body of major castes and minor occupational divisions whose mother tongue is Marathi.

During Shahu's reign, the name was used in both senses; but generally, to designate the "inhabitants of Maharashtra".¹⁵ As to their personal appearance Mr. Grose who saw them in 1750 writes, "The Marathas -- are generally a clean limbed straight people, it being very rare to see any deformed persons among them. Some of them are muscular large-bodied men; but their vegetable diet and their not being trained to proper exercise of their bodily strength makes them not so robust. Their complexions are of all shades, from the deep black to the light brown. Their features are generally regular and even delicate."¹⁶

Their Character :

Of the 7th century inhabitants of Maharashtra, Hiwan Thsang said, "The natives are tall and haughty and supercilious in character. Whoever does them a service may count on their gratitude; but he that offends them will not escape their revenge..... The manners are simple and honest.... (they) serve him (i.e. their king) with perfect self-devotion."¹⁷ Many of these qualities are markedly seen in the later Marathas and to this day they are known for being frank and simple, courteous and liberal, proud-spirited and independent.¹⁸

14) See Imp. Gaz. Vol. VIII, P. 304.

15) Thus in an order of Aug. 1735, Shahu addresses his army leaders as "all my Watandar Marathas". Shahu's Diary P. 26. The context shows that Shahu meant to include all the important inhabitants of his country without distinction of castes. In another order which he made in Sept. 1715 he contrasts the "Marathas" with the "Berads", a minor tribe living in the Maratha country. Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 7, Entry No. 25. This shows that caste distinctions were made even in those days. The general use of the name was, however, the one which I have adopted. See Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 10, Entry No. 1 Idem Vol. 14, Entry No. 36; Idem Vol. 26, Entry Nos. 29, 33.

16) Travels Vol. 1, PP. 91-92

17) Indian Antiquary Vol. VII; PP. 290-91

18) Bom. Gaz. Vol. XXIV; P 70

A maratha of Shahu's times was "bred to agriculture and arms alike and was not the worse soldier for this alternation."¹⁹ On the farm he still used primitive implements. On the battle-field he mounted a horse that was small and ill-shaped, but stout and accustomed to indifferent feeding, to difficult roads and to excessive fatigue. His attire consisted of a turban, a girdle and a cloak; his provisions, a little bag of rice and a leather bottle full of water. His best weapon was an excellent sabre.²⁰

Their early political condition :

Maharashtra was ruled by the native dynasties till 1294. In that year Ala-ud-din, the emperor of Delhi besieged Devgiri, its capital and compelled Ramdev Yadav, its ruler, to surrender. A few years later, this Hindu kingdom was finally annexed to Delhi. Before long, however, the Deccan Muhammaedans revolted against at the Delhi empire and set up a new kingdom (1347). This was the Bahmani kingdom which existed till 1526 by which time it broke up into five rival Sultanates viz. Bijapur, Golconda, Ahmadnagar, Bidar and Berar.

The Marathas thus passed under an alien rule, but they did not lose their political character. "The native princes of Dekkan" took part in the revolt of 1347,²¹ and during the succeeding years many Maratha chiefs raised banners of rebellion for asserting their claims to independence.²² Those of them who were conquered were generally allowed to hold their lands and forts on condition of supplying troops to the king.²³ Those who took services with the rulers were given new Jagirs with the Hindu titles of Deshmukh, Sardeshmukh, Deshpande, Naik, Rao and Raja.²⁴ Marathi was made the court language by some Sultans;²⁵ Maratha officers were often given posts of honour²⁶ and trust²⁷; Maratha

19) Grose, Travels Vol. 1; P. 80

20) This description of the Maratha soldier of Shahu's times is adopted from Philosophical and Political History Vol. 2, P. 108 with necessary corrections.

21) Scott's Ferishta, Vol. 1, P 6.

22) See Idem PP. 32, 125; Briggs Ferishta, Vol. 3, P 495; Bom. Gaz. Vol. XXIV, P. 84

23) e. g. Buran Shah, the 2nd king of Ahmadnagar "reduced 30 forts belonging to Maratha rajas, who had not paid allegiance." He then enlisted them in his service and gave back their Jagira "on condition that they should supply troops when required for that State."
(Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. 3, P. 228.)

24) Bom. Gaz. Vol. XXIV, P. 84.

25) Ferishta says that during the reign of Ibrahim Shah, the fourth king of Bijapur, "The public accounts formerly kept in Persian, were written in Hindvy under the management of Brahmins, who soon acquire great influence in his kingdom."
(Brigg's Ferishta Vol. 3, P. 80)

horse and foot, numbering several thousand served the States²⁶; and Maratha ladies were married by these Muhammedan kings.²⁹ Even before Shivaji was born, many Maratha families had risen to fame and acquired local power.³⁰

A disunited people :

The Marathas were, however, a disunited people, and till Shivaji's time there is no record of their ever having joined hands to free their country from alien rule. They possessed "valour without conduct, and the love of freedom without the spirit of union."³¹ The initial vigour of the Muhammedan rule laid them low; and the conciliatory policy of some of the later rulers attracted the services of many; while a Maratha's excessive - even sentimental - attachment to his watan* often occasioned family quarrels and bloodfeuds.³² The Muslim kings fostered this factious spirit by giving fresh Inams and played one party against another, so much so that bodies of Marathas would vigorously fight against each other in two opposing armies.³³ The Marathas were a scattered mass till Shivaji's genius organized them into a powerful nation.

The Marathas were not Banditti :

This rise of the Marathas under Shivaji is looked upon in two different ways. To Grant Duff, the father of Maratha history and to those who follow him, Shivaji was a mere "adventurer"³⁴ and his followers a "predatory"³⁵ herd, free-booters, banditti, barbarians and the like. Their

26) See Idem Vol. 3, PP. 96, 223, 226; Scott's Ferishta Vol. I, P. II; Grant Duff History Vol. 1, P. 45-46

27) During a retreat in 1560 Ali Adil Shah entrusted his family to the care of Yeswunt Row, Bhoj Mul Naig and Dew Naig: three Maratha officers in charge of 6000 horse. (Brigg's Ferishta Vol. 3, P. 432)

28) See Brigg's Ferishta Vol. 5, PP. 37 (footnote); 78-79.

29) See Idem Vol. 3, PP. 495-96; Scott's Ferishta Vol. 1, PP. 113, 226.

30) The "Sanads and Letters", edited by Messrs Mawjee and Parasnis contain a number of grants and orders of these Deccan Sultans. From them it is clear that many Marathas had attained eminence by their services and become important personages in the State. In selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 31 a few more papers of similar nature are printed. Entry No. 1, which is dated Nov. 11, 1426 sheds much light on the political status of the Marathas.

31) Gibbon's delineation of Britons before they were conquered by the Romans correctly applies to these Marathas.

32) A number of family papers containing accounts of atrocities committed to get or save Watan are printed in Rajawade's Vol. XV. Dr. Sen has given translations of some extracts from Entry Nos. 2 and 364.

33) Grant Duff Vol. 1, P. 66

34) Grant Duff, History Vol. 1, P. 33

rise, moreover, is said to be "chiefly attributable to the confusion of other states"³⁶ and is compared to a conflagration of the "parched grass kindled amid the forests of the Sahyadri mountains"³⁷ an incident which would arise through mischief and leave behind utter ruin.

On the other hand the native writers³⁸ have felt offended, and rightly so, at the names given to Shivaji and the Maratha people who were no worse than their contemporaries, both Christian and Mahomedan powers in India.³⁹ The annals of Conquests of the Portuguese on India's Western coast contain accounts of many atrocities committed in the name of their religion. Similar misdeeds of India's Mussalman rulers are too numerous and gruesome to mention. The Marathas at least were not religion fanatics. They were the most tolerant and catholic sect of their days and it is on record that Shivaji paid due respect to both the Mosque⁴⁰ and the Church.⁴¹ That the Muslim historians should call Shivaji a rebel is only natural; all founders of new kingdoms are in the beginning rebels against established authority; but certainly he and his followers were not "banditti and barbarians." Such lawless men observe no moral codes in their pursuits. The Muhammedan historian, Khafi Khan, the authority of Grant Duff says, "Shivaji perserved in a course of rebellion - But he entirely abstained from other disgraceful acts - His injunctions upon this point were very strict and any one who disobeyed them received punishment."⁴² Besides mere free-booters could not build an Empire which lasted for generations and permanently altered the political map of a great continent. ⁴³ The Marathas at one time possessed a territory which measured more than 1000 miles in length and 700 in width.⁴⁴ They built an administrative system of their own which in some minor respects still survives.⁴⁵ Their kingdom was so well founded and was so based on the will of the people that it safely

35) Idem P. 52

35) Idem Preface

37) Idem P. 52

38) See e. g. J. Ranado's Rise of the Maratha Power, Chapl. 1, "The Importance of Maratha History.

• Hereditary Lands.

39) Reverend Alexander Kyd Nakne admits this fact, but persists in calling Shivaji a "barbarian". His History of the Konkan, Bom. Gaz. Vol. 1, Pt. 2; P. 73.

40) Khafi Khan; Eilat, Vol. VII, P. 260

41) The English in Western India PP. 186-187

42) Eilat Vol. VII; P. 305, Underlining mind, See also Idem PP. 260-81

43) J. Ranado, Rise of the Maratha Power, P. 3.

44) J. Rendell "Memor of a Map of Hindostan" P. 12

45) See Dr. Sen's Adm. System, Preface P. IX

passed through such crisis in its life as when Shivaji became a prisoner at Agra (1666); when Sambhaji was inhumanly put to death, and his little son and heir to the throne was captured by Aurangzeb (1669); and when the Marathas lost a whole generation in that holocaust of a battle at Panipat in 1761.⁴⁶ Lastly, the Maratha State grew so powerful that only a better organized foreign enemy dislodged it from its position of supremacy. Mere banditti could never aspire to such achievements.

The rise of a nation :

Nor was the rise of the Marathas such an insignificant event as to be likened to a fire of the "parched grass". It was the rise of a nation. "The Marathas", wrote the Dutch governor of Cochin in April 1781 "are a nation; they are a nation whose number is legion."⁴⁷ Even the Imperial Gazetteer says, "Shivaji not only founded a kingdom; he also created a nation."⁴⁸ When Shivaji was born, that nation was in the making. The Maratha people possessed already, among other elements of nationality, community of language and community of religion; but they had no political spirit. This Shivaji created primarily by his splendid example; and he was also a little helped by some external forces working before and at his time. From the 14th century onwards, Maharashtra produced many saints, poets and philosophers, born in castes from the lowest of Mahars to the highest of Brahmans.⁴⁹ Their lives and works caused a veritable upheaval of a religious nature, and on the socio-political side they greatly liberalized the minds of the people, lessened the importance of caste and created an abundant fellow-feeling. Ramdas, the contemporary of Shivaji, is said to have advised the king "to muster all Marathas and save the Dharm (religion) of Maharashtra."⁵⁰ This would make clear the relations between the religious and political movements in the country.⁵¹ Besides, the Maratha bards (called Gondhalis in their

46) J. Ranade adds that the murder of Narayanrao Peshwa in 1773 was one more crisis, and that the Maratha Confederacy overcame it by fighting Raghoba and his allies, the English (Rise of the Maratha Power P. 15). But, apart from the immediate victory gained by the Confederacy, it may be said that this introduction of the English in the Maratha politics proved a thin end of the wedge.

47) Fort St. George Records. The Dutch in Malabar PP. 168, 170.

48) Vol. II, P. 440.

49) Mr. Sardesai in his Riyasat, (Purvardha, Chapt. 2) has briefly described the lives and works of the more important of these persons, in a chronological order.

50) Ramdas Chaitra P. 84.

51) Justice Ranade has written an admirable chapter on this religious movement (His, Rise of the Maratha Power Chapter VIII). But he is wrong in asserting that it led to and all along supported, the political movement. In fact, the latter was quite independent of the former and was greatly the work of Shivaji. The other influences including that of the religious movement, as described above, were only of secondary importance.

language) whose powadas or ballads have been "the only class of poetry which has universal currency among the Maratha peasantry"⁵² then enjoyed a unique popularity among their countrymen. They were the devotees of the goddess Amba Bhawani in whose name they roused the minds of the people against the evils of alien rule.⁵³

The ever inspiring highlands of Maharashtra, moreover, produced and preserved in its inhabitants the love of independence which, though subdued, was not destroyed. The village committees and Panchayats, which still functioned in these parts, strengthened that love. The Deshmukhs and the Deshpandes, who were the ancient and hereditary Hindu officers, became by virtue of their commanding positions links in the chain of unity. The Marathas had, for over a hundred years, received training in civil, military and revenue affairs of the Deccan Sultanates and learned their art of governance. The rulers of these kingdoms soon lost their original vigour and took to ease and luxury. Their courts became hot beds of intrigue, and their nobility divided into factions whose bitter jealousies for each other brought ruin upon the States. The Marathas took the opportunity to rise in a body, and, though they were strangers to the refined conception of modern patriotism, they had enough feelings of love for their country. However objectionable their methods of conquests and warfare and however disorganised they became in the end, they did succeed in building a national State, some of whose remains exist to this day.

The Maratha Raj :

Two more points need to be mentioned. Firstly, it is sometimes supposed that the Maratha Raj rose and fell with Shivaji. ⁵⁴ This was not so. The glory of the founder's name, of course, outshines the achievements of all his successors put together. It is also a proof of his greatness that he established a government which, though an autocracy of the prevailing type, did not depend on the head alone but had the support of the people. The Great Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb, personally went down in the Deccan in Nov. 1683 "to punish the infidels". During the rest of his life which was over 23 years, he remained in that country

52) Adworth, Ballads, Intro. P. XXXII.

53) Idem

54) See, for instance, The Historians History of the World, Vol XXII, P. 37

55) Elliot, Vol VII, P. 374

to destroy Shivaji's nascent kingdom. "For all the struggles and schemes" writes Khafi Khan who was an eye-witness to those events, "(for all) the campaigns and sieges of Aurangzeb up to the end of his reign, the power of the Marathas increased day by day."⁵⁶ Only 12 years after the emperor's death, a Maratha army under Shahu's general, reached the gates of Delhi to demand tributes from the revenues of the Deccan Province. (February - March 1719). Henceforth, the authority of the Mughal emperors weakened and that of the Marathas increased, their conquests were multiplied; their sway extended. And, as Grant Duff has rightly put it, the "predecessors" of the English rulers in India were the Marathas, not the Mughals.⁵⁵

Shahu was a real King :

Secondly, and more frequently, it is supposed that Shahu whose reign is the subject-matter of this narrative, soon after ascending the throne, resigned the government to his Peshwa, Balaji Vishvanath and that since then the supremacy in the Maratha kingdom passed from the house of Shivaji to that of the Peshwa. ⁵⁷ Shahu's public life will be described in Chapter VII and there it will be made clear that the above mentioned belief is quite unhistoric and that Shahu was and remained a King throughout his reign. A few general remarks, however, may be made here. It is true that Shahu did not show continuously the same energy of action which he displayed before and immediately after coming into power. He had, however, fought too hard for the throne to relinquish it readily. In fact, he always made it manifest that he was the king and the Peshwas were his servants whom he could appoint or dismiss. In his times, as in those of his two immediate predecessors, many offices tended to be hereditary and their incumbents endeavoured to increase their own power at the cost of the central government. The aggrandizement of the Bhat Peshwas was the greatest and they did encroach upon Shahu's kingly authority. ⁵⁸ Before his reign came to an end (Dec. 1749), the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao succeeded in consolidating his position by securing two orders from the dying king making him the

56) Grant Duff, History Preface P. III.

57) See e. g. Forrest, Selections (Marathi Series) Vol. I Introduction P. 11. The author goes so far as to assert that Bajirao, the 2nd Bhat Peshwa, deprived Shahu of personal liberty and made him a state prisoner. This is absolutely unhistoric.

58) Entry No. 30 in Selections from the Peshwa Daftar Vol. 17 is a letter written to Shahu about 1732. It gives a vivid idea of the treasonous practices indulged in by the Peshwas for compelling Shahu's men to transfer their services from the king to themselves.

permanent head of the government. Shahu's successors were mere figure-heads and the Peshwas became the real rulers. Shahu, however, was not a "roi faineant"; he was a true king.

History :

The history of the Maratha kings upto Shahu's arrival in the Deccan (1708) may now be briefly mentioned.

Shahaji Bhosale 1594-1664 :

Shahaji Bhosale, the son of Maloji Bhosale, was born on March 29, 1594.⁵⁹ At the age of ten he was married to Jijabai, the daughter of Lakhoji Jadhav who was a prominent Maratha Sardar in the Nizam Shahi State of Ahmednagar (April 1604).⁶⁰ The fruit of this marriage was the great Shivaji. In 1619, Shahaji succeeded to the small mansab or post which his father held in the same State.⁶¹ In 1626 Malik Ambar, the regent of Nizam Shah, died; and in 1636, the kingdom itself was finally destroyed. During these ten years, Shahaji made his name - particularly during 1633 to 1636 when he played the role of a kingmaker.⁶² After the fall of the Nizamshahi, he entered the service of Bijapur and was sent in Karnataka where he won many victories (1638-48)⁶³. He continued his marches further into the south east, conquering new territories for his King and Jagirs for himself. Thus, in 1658, he invaded Madura and Trichinopoly. Next year, he entered the country of Tanjore and seized its capital. In 1661, he captured Tegonapatan and Porto-Novo on the Coromondal coast.⁶⁴ While he was still extending his sway in these southern parts, he suddenly died on January 23, 1664.⁶⁵

Shahaji had two wives, Jijabal and Tukabal. The former bore him two sons, Sambhaji (1623-1654 c)⁶⁶ and Shivaji; the latter, one son Vyankoji who inherited his father's southern possessions and personal property.

59) Shivadi Gavijay Bakhar.

60) Sardesai, Riyasat Purvardh, P. 142

61) Idem PP. 146-47

62) See J. Sarkar's article on the Rise of Shahaji Bhonsla in Modern Review, September 1917, PP. 247-254

63) See Dr. Balkrishna's Shivaji the Great Vol. 1, Pt. 1, Chapter IV.

64) Idem P. 169

65) Jadhe Shakavali, Shivacharitrpradip P. 22.

Dr. Balkrishna says that before his death Shahaji "governed a territory which included at least Bangalore, Balapur, Kolar, Nandi, Basavapatan, Aml, Gingi, Tenapatem, Huskote and Porto - Novo in Tanjore". Shivaji the Great, Vol. 1, Pt. 1, P. 157

66) Sardesai, Riyasat Purvardh PP. 148, 242 (foot-note)

Shivaji, the second son of Shahaji, was born on April 10, 1627.⁶⁸ When Shahaji went into Karnatak (1638) Shivaji and Jijabai were left in charge of his Jagir in the Poona district. Here the founder of the Maratha Raj took early steps to become independent. In 1646, he took the fort of Torna* in the Bijapur territory and in its vicinity built a new fort called Raigad.⁶⁹ Original papers of that year show that he was even then styled as Chhatrapati⁷⁰ (Lord of the royal umbrella), the royal title by which he and his descendants are known in the Maratha history. From 1646 to 1674, his life was crowded with political events; his power increased; his territory extended. And on June 6,⁷¹ of the latter year he ascended with usual ceremonies the throne of an independent kingdom. The coronation took place at Raigad⁺ which since then became his capital. As a crowned king, he ruled only for six years and died on April 3, 1680.⁷²

At the time of his death, Shivaji's kingdom included most of the territory between Ramnagar⁷³ and Baglana⁷⁴ in the North to Karwar and Kolhapur in the south, the western Karnatak extending from Belgaum⁷⁵ to the bank of the Tungbhadra and the newly conquered country from Kopal⁷⁶ to Vellore⁷⁷ and Jinji⁷⁸. In the western Karwar, his mastery was not quite complete. Beyond the boundaries of this territory there was a wide and fluctuating belt of land and subject to his power but not owning his sovereignty".⁷⁹ Moreover, he possessed as many as 240 forts and strongholds.⁸⁰

67) Dr. Balkrishna, Shivaji the Great Vol. 1, Pt. 1, P. 157

68) This date is given in many Marathi records and is adopted by Sir. J. Sarkar and Mr. Sardesai. Jedhe Shahavali places the event in Feb. 19, 1630 (Shivacharitrpradip, P. 16). The discovery of this Shakavali or Chronology by the late Mr. Tilak has given rise to a hot controversy over the date of Shivaji's birth, and the issue is not yet finally settled. The Shakavali is of singular importance to the study of early Maratha history and can be taken as an authority for many of the events it records. I have adopted some of its other important dates; but its birth-date of Shivaji is not beyond doubt. I have therefore preferred the older date.

* About 20 m. from Poona.

69) Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat, Purvardha PP. 199-200.

70) See Idem P. 197

71) Jedhe Shahavali, Shivacharitrpradip P. 27. A new era called "Rajyabhishek Shak" (coronation era) was begun from this date. It was used as an official era of the Maratha Kings till 1777. See Sardesai, Riyasat Purvardha P. 362.

72) Jedhe Shahavali, Shivacharitrpradip, P. 30.

+ 32 m. S. W. Poona and 65m. S. E. Bombay; Thornton.

73) Modern Dharampur State in the Surat Agency.

74) In Nasik District, Bombay Presidency.

75) Lat. 15° 51; Long. 74° 33; Thornton.

76) Kopul; Lat., 15° 21; Long 76° 13; Idem.

77) Lat. 12° 55; Long 79° 10; Idem.

78) Lat. 12° 15; Long 79° 26; Idem.

79) Sarkar, Aurangzeb Vol. IV, P. 262.

80) Sen, Adm. System of the Marathas, P. 28.

Shivaji a civil ruler :

But mere military exploits did not fill up Shivaji's life. He was a civil ruler too. The system of the government, which he established both for the stability of his kingdom and for the well-being of his people, was his best achievement. The main features of this system were the establishment of a council of ministers (Ashta Pradhans), all responsible to the king; the establishment of a direct system of revenue management without the intervention of district or village Zamindars; the disallowance of the farming system; the refusal to grant Jagir assignments of land for the support of civil or military officers who were, instead, paid in cash; the discouragement of the hereditary system of transmitting high offices in one and the same family; and the appointment of the judicial and ecclesiastical ministers both of whom were members of the Ashta Pradhan Council.⁸¹ The rules of government laid down by Shivaji were not strictly adhered to by his successors; and this in no small measure was responsible for the disintegration and decline of the Maratha kingdom.

Rajaram's Usurption :

Shivaji had two sons - Sambhaji, the elder of the two by Saibai (d. Sept. 5, 1659)⁸² and Rajaram by Soyarabai. Sambhaji had incurred his father's displeasure by his desertion to the Mughals from Dec. 1678 to Dec. 1679.⁸³ On his return, Shivaji kept him in civil prison at Panhala where he was still staying when his father's death occurred.⁸⁴ A plot was hatched by Soyarabai, the Peshwa Moropant Pingale, the Sachiv Annajipant and others to place Rajaram on the throne and keep Sambhaji in confinement.⁸⁵ Accordingly, Rajaram was proclaimed King on April 21 (1680) and the Peshwa and the Sachiv proceeded to secure Sambhaji's person.⁸⁶ The plot failed and the conspirators were seized by Sambhaji who hastened to Raigad (June 18) and took possession of the government (July 20)⁸⁷. He put Rajaram in civil prison and had Soyarabai killed in a cruel manner.⁸⁸

81) See J. Ranade's *Rise of the Maratha Power*, Chapt. VII, headed 'Shivaji as a Civil Ruler'. Mr. Ranade has dealt with the subject in an admirable way, but at times his hero worship has led him to force greatness on Shivaji. Thus, for instance, he says that each one of his Ashta Pradhans was responsible to the 'King in Council'. (Idem P. 132). This is crediting Shivaji with a modern notion of which he must have been ignorant.

82) Jedhe Shakavali, *Shivacharitrpradip*, P. 19.

83) See Idem PP. 29, 30.

84) Sabhasad, *Shivachharitratil*, P. 103.

85) Chitnis, *Sambhaji and Rajaram*, P. 2.

86) Jedhe Shakavali, *Shivacharitrpradip*, P. 30

87) Idem P. 30

88) Chitnis, *Sambhaji and Rajaram*, P. 7.

Sambhaji (1657-1689) :

Sambhaji was born on May 14, 1657.⁸⁹ It took him sometime before he succeeded in putting down the conspiracy. When his position was firmly established, a grand coronation ceremony was performed on Jan. 16, 1681⁹⁰. He ruled for little over eight years which were mainly spent in fighting with his many enemies: with the Sidis (1681-82), with the Portuguese (1683) and with the Mughals (1682-89). In the beginning of his reign, Aurangzeb's fourth son Akbar ran away from his father and joined Sambhaji (Nov. 1681)⁹¹. The emperor became apprehensive of the union and immediately left for the Deccan.⁹² By slow marches, the imperial army reached Ahmadnagar on Nov. 13, 1693.⁹³ By this time, it was found out that Sambhaji's espousal of Akbar's cause would be of no danger to the emperor who, therefore, set his heart on conquering first the two remaining Deccan Sultanates, viz. Bijapur and Golkonda. After a vigorous war, Aurangzeb succeeded in taking Bijapur on Sept. 12, 1686 and Golkonda on Sept. 21, 1687.⁹⁴ The emperor then bent his energy solely against Sambhaji and sent a strong detachment. This Maratha king was a strong man with weak morals. He fell a victim to some excesses and was captured by the Mughals on Feb. 1, 1689.⁹⁵ On March 11, he was put to a very cruel and most painful death.⁹⁶

Fall of Raigad, Oct. 19, 1689 :

At the news of Sambhaji's capture, the Maratha chiefs brought Rajaram out from the place of his confinement and seated him on the throne at the capital, Raigad (Feb. 12).⁹⁷ "The Mogol (Aurangzeb) was a bitter enemy of Shivaji's family and desired their entire destruction."⁹⁸

Chitnis further adds that Sambhaji first charged Soyarabai of having poisoned her husband (Shivaji), and then put her to death. There was no truth in the charge and probably the whole story of bringing about Soyarabai's death is untrue. It seems that, when her plot to place her son on the throne failed, she committed suicide, because she knew Sambhaji's cruel nature. See Marathi L.I.S.S. India Office Library.

89) Jedhe Shakavali, Shivacharitrapadip, P. 18.

90) Idem P. 31

91) Idem. The meeting between Sambhaji and Akbar took place on Nov. 18, Idem.

92) Sir J. Sarkar says, "At this stage Shambaji (Sambhaji) was his (i.e. the emperor's) only enemy and no invasion of Bijapur or Golkonda was as yet contemplated". His Aurangzeb Vol. IV, P. 63

93) Idem P. 366.

94) Idem Pt. 388, 452.

95) Jedhe Chronology, Shivacharitrapadip, PP.34-35.

96) Idem P. 35

97) Idem PP. 34-35

98) Memores de F. Martin, II, P. 568

He sent his general Zulfiqar Khan to march against the Maratha Capital which the general besieged on March 25. ⁹⁹ Rajaram managed to escape (April 5) ¹⁰⁰, but the siege was continued till Oct. 19 on which day the fort was capitulated. ¹⁰¹ It will be mentioned in the next chapter that, when the fort fell, Sambhaji's son Shahu and widow Yesubai, and many other members of the royal family were made prisoners.

Rajaram : 1670 - 1700 :

Rajaram was born on Feb. 24, 1670. ¹⁰² After his escape from Raigad, he sought shelter in fort after fort and finally left Panhala for Jinji* on Sept. 26. ¹⁰³ A Mughal army was immediately despatched to besiege Rajaram's place of refuge. Fort St. George wrote to the Company on Feb. 1, 1690 (1691 ?), "Upon (Sambhaji's) death his Brother +Ram Raja undertook the Government with the assurance of a great Fidelity from his Council officers and soldiers who have long and bravely defended their country against the Mogul's forces and still defend most of their eminent possessions, but there has lately happened amongst them some strange kind of act of policy or treachery that has occasioned Rama Raja's leaving that kingdom and coming to Chingie (Jinji), when he was loyally received and is now strongly fortified in that garrison with a considerable Army of Horse and foot, where he has so managed the business with the Mogul's forces who have been near two years soly sat down against it, that they have revolted as well as Genetus (Hindus) against the Mogul (Aurangzeb), Proclaiming the Gentue King and government --- the several Rajas, Poligars in this and that Country as also on the coast of Gingerlee are in arms declaring for the Gentue Interest which has put the Mogull into a strange Consternation." ¹⁰⁴ On May 25, they again wrote "Cawn (i.e. Zulfigar Khan, is) still besieging Ram Raja --- all (is) so well fortified by Nature and Art, that is believed will still cost him many years and men to conquer it." ¹⁰⁵

For over seven long years, Mughal armies laid siege against Jinji, but failed to create any impression on the fort; and it was not before Rajaram effected his escape that the fort was reduced (1698). The

99) Jedhe Shakavall, Shivacharitrpradip, P. 35

100) Idem

101) Idem

102) Idem P. 24

103) Idem P. 35

* Lat. 12o 16' 19; Long. 79o28; 8": Thornton.

+ Rajaram's nickname was Ramraja.

104) o.c. 5698; See also o.c.s. 6700 and 5705

105) o.c. 5770

fugitive Maratha king arrived in the Deccan in February (1698);¹⁰⁶ but as the Mughals kept hot on his heels he made another sojourn in the south during the next 12 months.¹⁰⁷ He finally entered Rajgad near Poona in Dec. 1699,¹⁰⁸ but did not live long to do anything. He died on March 2, 1700.¹⁰⁹

Shivaji II 1696-1726 :

Rajaram left two sons: Shivaji II by Tarabai born on June 9, 1696¹¹⁰ and Sambhaji II by Rajasbai born on June 20, 1698.¹¹¹ The Maratha chiefs crowned the elder of the two as their king; and as he was a minor, they made Tarabai his regent.¹¹² Mr. Sardesai¹¹³ says that, before taking charge of the government, Tarabai threw Sambhaji II and his mother in prison. A contemporary ¹¹⁴, chronology, however, makes no such mention; nor does the loquacious Chitnis¹¹⁵ say anything about it. Probably Tarabai may have placed her co-wife and Sambhaji under some restraints because they were - and in the end proved - inimical to her; but it does not appear that she kept them in prison.

Shivaji II and Tarabai were at the head of the Maratha kingdom when Shahu was released from the Mughal prison and arrived in Maharashtra towards the end of 1707.¹¹⁶

106) Gadadhar Pralhad Shakavali, Shivacharitrapradip. P. 66.

107) Idem

108) Idem

109) Idem

110) Jedhe Shakavali, Shivacharitrapradip. P. 38

111) Gadadhar pralhad Shakavarli, Idem P. 66

112) Khafi Khan, Elliot Vol. VII, P. 367

113) Marathi-Riyasat, Purvardha, P. 687

114) Gadadhar Pralhad Shakavali, Shivacharitrapradip. P. 67,115)

115) Sambhaji and Rajaram P. 124

116) The history of political events from 1700 to 1707 is given in the next chapter.

Chapter - 2

SHAHU's EARLY LIFE (1682 - 1708)

Birth and Childhood :

Shahu, the son of Sambhaji and grandson of Shivaji, was born on Thursday, May 18, 1682.¹ His original name was Shivaji² which was changed to Shahu when he became a Mughal prisoner at the age of seven. Nothing particular appears to have happened during these first seven years. Shahu, however, could not have received much care and attention from his father who, during that time was much too busy fighting with his own enemies, and whose conduct as a family man was not above reproach.³ But Shahu, even as a child, must have loved his father dearly; for, soon after coming out of the prison he took the first opportunity to make suitable provisions for the up-keep of his father's tomb⁴ and to pay his longstanding debt.⁵ Shahu's mother, Yesubai, had possibly the sole charge of her son during his childhood, and hence he developed a great respect and affection for her. Of this, more will be said hereafter. Chitnis asserts that before he was captured, Shahu "became skilled in the use of all arms, and could ride a horse".⁶ It would be prodigious for

- 1) Jeeha Shakavali, Shivacharitrpradi, P. 31; Itihas Sangrah, Peshwa Daftar, P.I. Both give the name of the day as Thursday which is correct according to Khare Jantri. The Peshwa Daftar adds details about the position of the stars etc. at the time of Shahu's birth, which it says was about an hour after sun-set.
- 2) Idem both mention that Shahu's first name was Shivaji. For a discussion over this name see infra.
- 3) How many other children Sambhaji had is not known W. Irvine in his translation of 'Storia do Mogor', Vol. 2, P. 32 (foot-note) says 'Sambhaji left 3 sons; the eldest, Shahu, was born in 1684'. This date is wrong. Nasir-i-Almagiri, Br. Mu. Add. 30, 771, mentions that when the fort of Raigad fell into Mughal hands in 1689 with it were seized the "daughters and sons of Sambha." Chitnis gives the name of illegitimate son as Madan Singh, of whom more anon. (Chitnis, Sambhaji and Rajaram, P-37). Khafi Khan refers to 'Shahu and his brothers in his company' after their release from the Mughal prison where Madan Singh was still detained. All this makes clear that Sambhaji had other children besides Shahu, and they were legitimate as well as illegitimate.
- 4) Shahu's grant dated Jan. 18, 1715, Sel. Pesh.Daf. Vol. 30, Entry No. 18.
- 5) In Itihas Sangrah Peshwa Daftar (P. 130) it is mentioned that on Sept. 30, 1719 Shahu paid off the debt of 300 hon which Sambhaji had contracted during his stay with Diler Khan, a general of Aurangzeb. As a Hindu, Shahu might have believed that his father's departed soul would get no peace till his debts were paid off.
- 6) Thorle Shahu Maharaj, PP. 1-2.

a child of seven to accomplish so much, but as the knowledge of such arts was a necessity of those times, Shahu must have started to learn them at an early age.

Shahu captured Oct.19,1689 :

When Sambhaji was captured and beheaded (Feb-March, 1689) his generals removed his family to the fort of Raigad.⁷ Though an early siege was laid against it by the Mughal Commander Itiqad Khan (son of Aurangzib's prime minister Asad Khan), the Marathas maintained a vigorous fight in its defence. It was, however, capitulated⁸ on Oct. 19, 1689, and its inmates were made prisoners. According to Nasir-i-Alamgiri, "all the wives and female relations, the daughters and sons of Sambha (Sambhaji), and also his brother Ramai⁹ (Rajaram) fell into the hands of the Mughals. Kahfi Khan adds that men and women, "26 individuals in number were taken and also two women belonging to Ram Raja"¹⁰ (Rajaram). The names of some of these prisoners, as given by Chitnis,¹¹ include those of Shahu, Yesubai, his mother, Madan Sing, his illegitimate brother, and Jotyaji Kesarkar, a loyal servant.¹²

Reception by Aurangzib :

Great were the rejoicings when the news of this victory to Mughal arms reached the camp of Aurangzib. The person who broke this news to the emperor "received a dress of honour... and all the nobles enjoyed the honour of congratulating the monarch, and laying presents before him."¹³ Itiqad Khan, on his arrival at the camp with his captives (Nov. 23) was suitably rewarded, and "an increase to his allowance and horsemen"¹⁴ was made. Greater still was the reception given to the prisoners. "The emperor graciously ordered that suitable tents should

7) Ishwardas, Sarkar's Aurangzeb. Vo. IV, Appendix P, 453.

8) Idcm : Chitnis, Sambhaji and Rajaram, P. 37

9) Br. Mu. Add. 30, 771, P. 279

10) Ellict, Vol. VII, P. 333

Sir Jadunath Sarkar seems to be wrong in asserting (his Aurangzeb, Vol. IV, P. 453) that the two "women" mentioned here were "wives" of Rajaram. Out of Rajaram's four wives at least three were with him at the time of his death (1700), (see Sardesai Rikhsat Purvancha, P. 576) at which time nobody had escaped nor was released from the Mughal custody.

11) Thore Shahu Maharaj, P.2

12) They were all released at one time or another, and therefore will be referred to at their proper places.

13) Nasir-i-Alamgiri, Br.Mu.Add, 30, 771, P. 279

14) Ibid

be pitched for Shahu's mother and other relatives in the Gulabar¹⁵ (circle of the imperial residence) and they should be made to dismount there with all honour and privacy. Her servants and dependents were lodged close to the prime minister's camp. Annual pensions were settled on all of them according to the ranks. Shahu, aged nine years, was given the Mansab of a Commander of Seven Thousand, the title of Rajah, a robe of honour, jewels, horse, elephant, kettle-drums and Standard."¹⁶ Khafi Khan adds that "orders were given for his (i.e. Shahu's) being kept within the limits of the palace, and suitable teachers were appointed to educate him."¹⁷

Name "Shahu" :

It is also said that when Shahu was first brought to the imperial residence, the emperor, on learning that he was called Shivaji (which name the emperor did not like), ordered a change in his name which eventually came to be settled as Shahu.¹⁸ There has been some controversy¹⁹ about Shahu's original name and how it came to be changed to Shahu. But now there is no doubt that Shahu's first name was Shivaji. Not only all the authorities say so, but Shahu in his seal²⁰ calls himself "Shiva-raj", and his first chief minister in his seal²¹ gives his master's name as "Shiva". It is, therefore, fair to conclude that the name Shahu was imposed on him during the imprisonment, though he showed his preference to the original name "Shivaji" (which was also his grandfather's name) by mentioning it in his seal. Nevertheless, the name Shahu became so well established during the 17 years of his prison life

15) "It is not permitted for any but the Emperors sons to come into the Goularbar" - Sir W. Norris to Com. April 29, 1701. Factory Records, Misc. Vol. 20.

• Ought to be seven. The writer of Nasir-i-Alamgiri is supposed to have been an eye-witness of many of the incidents he has recorded. But evidently he was not as well informed, at least in some respects, as Khafi Khan who says that Shahu at this time was a "boy of seven years of age". Elliot, Vol. VII; P. 341.

• Rank.

16) Nasir-i-Alamgiri, Modern Review, July 1816. P. 12
English rendering by Sir Jadunath

17) Elliot, Vol. VII; P. 341

18) Chinese. Trade Enchu Maharaj. PP. 2-3
Grant Duff, History Vol. I : PP 341-42

19) For this controversy see Sardesai Purvardha. PP. 621-22

20) Rajawade Vol. 20, Entry Nos. 60, 94

"Shiv" is the recognised abbreviation of Shivaji

21) Idem Vol. 15, Entry No. 360

that he adopted the same after his release, and in the Maratha history he is known by that very name. Sir Jadunath Sarkar is wrong in describing him as "Shambuji's son Shahu (afterwards Shivaji II)"²². He was "Shivaji" first and "Shahu" afterwards.

Aurangzib's Motives :

The rather long quotation given above from the contemporary Muslim historian of a high authority leaves no doubt that Shahu and his people were very warmly received and sumptuously provided for by Aurangzib. Even Bombay wrote to the Company on Dec. 26, 1669, "Sombajee Rajan's wife and son were taken in Raizy Castle (i.e. Raigad), sent up to the Moughl and very kindly entertained."²³ But none of these contemporary writers shed any light on the emperor's motives in doing so. In this connection, it may be useful to remember what fate Shahu's father met when he was captured only eight months before (Feb. 1689). The same Muslim historians²⁴ joyously mention that Sambhaji and his followers, who were captured with him, were subjected to many indignities, and more suffering, before they were barbarously put to death. Referring to the "ignominious death" of Sambhaji, Fort St. George wrote to the Company on Aug. 27, 1689, "(he) was mounted on a camel, led about the Camp, his eyes put out, and beheaded; and (his) Quarters dispersed as Traiter".²⁵ On Feb. 1, 1690 they added, "His head (was sent in triumph to most of the eminent places in those Parts and at last drowned in Surrat River)".²⁶ When Aurangzib made such a short work of the "opposer to Islam", the question that naturally arises is, why were Sambhaji's son and other relations, and even their servants, treated so sympathetically. The popular answer given by the writers of Marathi Bakhars²⁷ is that a daughter of Aurangzib took kindly to Shahu which induced the emperor to do the same. There is not much substance in this story; nor would Aurangzib be influenced by mere sentiments.

22) Aurangzeb Vol. IV, P. 481. Shivaji II was Rajaram's son by Tarabai in whose name the Maratha country was ruled from 1700-1714.

23) O.C. No. 5691

24) Nasir-ul-Alamgir, Br. Mu. 30, 778; P. 275
Khafi Khan, Elliot, Vol. VII: P. 341

25) Factory Records, Misc. Vol. 3A

26) O.C. 5698

27) Chitnis gives the best version of this story in these words put in the mouth of Aurangzeb:
"As our daughter has looked upon (Shahu) as her son, he is our grandson".
(Thorle Shahu Maharaj, P.3)

A more probable answer suggested by the same writers²⁸ is that when the fort of Raigad fell, its inmates surrendered themselves on condition of receiving protection. Even if that were true - and it is not yet proved so, such an agreement was made behind the back of the emperor who could have, therefore, avoided acting upon it. In any case, he need not have made such a show of personal interest in the prisoners. A better indication to Aurangzib's motives lies in the following facts. Khafi Khan has revealed that the emperor acted against the advice of his councillors in putting Sambhaji to death instead of keeping him in "perpetual confinement".²⁹ His intention in dealing summarily with Sambhaji was "to cause the hearts of Moslems to expand and strike terror into the infidels"³⁰ (i.e. in the Marathas). The Muslims might have bubbled with joy; but the Marathas were not silenced, much less subdued. It would be wise, therefore, if Shahu were saved and kept in the imperial camp, to inspire those Marathas with fear as well as hope- fear of the boy's meeting the fate of his father if they grew more troublesome and hope of his being one day restored to them if they became submissive. Or, if they set up another king and stood solidly against the emperor, Shahu may well be released to create a division among them. This last, Aurangzib actually attempted to do twice, as will be seen hereafter. This last is the most probable motive for his keeping Shahu and others in mere custody. In that case, the mighty emperor, at so early a time as 1689, when he was at the height of his glorious career, must have doubted whether he would really be able to conquer his only remaining enemies, the Marathas.

Shahu's Prison-life :

Shahu lived in the imperial prison for about 17 years and 6 months. Thus, from the age of seven to that of twenty four, the most formative period of his life was spent in the "enemy's" camp. During all these years, at least until Jan. 1706, he lived within the circle of the imperial residence.³¹ What his daily routine was, is not known. Nasir-i-Alamgiri, however, records a strange incident in his early prison-life. "About Oct. 1700" the official history says, the emperor learnt that as Hindus did not

28) e.g. see Chitnis Sambhaji and Rajaram.

29) Elliot, Vol. VII, P. 341

30) Nasir-i-Alamgiri, Br.Mu. 30, 778, P. 275

31) Nasir-i-Alamgiri, Modern Review, July 1976, P.12.

In Jan. 1708, Shahu was placed, as will be mentioned further, in the custody of Zulfigar Khan, the Mughal general.

take cooked food in prison, Raja Shahu used to eat sweetmeats, fruits (etc.), instead of cooked food. His majesty (i.e. Aurangzib) sent a word to Shahu, "You are not a prisoner; you are living in your own house, you should therefore eat cooked food".³² What Shahu did after this is not recorded; but the message itself demonstrates another touch of the emperor's feelings towards Shahu and the personal interest he took in his daily life. The same history asserts that annual pensions were settled on Shahu and other prisoners by way of providing for their daily necessities.³³ But Shahu, once referring to his Mughal custody said, "There the emperor had assigned some districts for (our) maintenance".³⁴ Apparently, the emperor made this arrangement soon after Shahu's arrival in the camp.³⁵ But the financial conditions of Shahu, and his fellow-prisoners were not satisfactory. In a letter of April, 19, 1705, which Yesubai, his mother, wrote from her prison at Ahmadnagar³⁶ said that she had received no pension for sometime, that she had contracted a debt of 5-7,000 rupees, that she could not secure any more loans even and that life was becoming a continual misery.³⁷ In Sept. 1719, Shahu repaid Rs. 4,000 which were "borrowed during his stay in the imperial army"³⁷ In March 1748, he cleared off yet another debt which he had contracted on the same occasion.³⁸ Such details as these, which are brought to light for the first time, show that the life of the prisoners was neither pleasant nor free of worries and anxieties.

Other Hardships :

There was also another class of hardship to which Shahu was subjected. Moving as he did with the imperial army, he did not escape

32) Nasir-i-Alamgiri, Modern Review, July 1916, P. 12. Shahu must have grown fond of such sweetmeats, for in 1719-20, when he was settled down as the king of Satara, he gave Rs. 500 as reward to some persons who brought these sweetmeats from Delhi. *Ilhas Sangrah, Peshwa Daftar, P. 20-29*

33) Nasir-i-Alamgiri, Modern Review, July, 1916, P. 12

34) Shahu's Sanad to Fattesingh Bhosale, March 2, 1747. *Ilhas Sangrah, Peshwa Daftar, P. 176*

35) Grant Duff, relying on Bakhars, says some districts (to one of which Shahu also refers in the abovementioned Sanad) were given to Shahu on the celebration of his marriage, which did not take place until a long time after his stay in prison.

• Lat. 19 5 ; Long. 74 55

36) Yesubai's letter to a priest at Chinchwad (near Poona) *Varshik Vritta, Shaka 1637, PP. 298-99*

37) *Ilhas Sangrah, Peshwa Daftar, P. 130*

38) See Shahu Rojanis PP. 38-39

the common sufferings of such a life, especially because that army was not infrequently devastated by floods, famine⁺ and pestilence⁺. Manucci, who had personal knowledge of its deplorable condition, does not exaggerate much in observing that it was "a filthy dirty place, more like as scourge sent by God, judging by the daily mortality of men and animals"³⁹ Chitnis mentions an occasion when Shahu's servant, Jotyaji Kesarkar, could with difficulty cook some rice for his master, while the majority of the camp-followers went without food for two or three days, since all the fuel was carried away by floods.⁴⁰ And in 1700, Shahu was once dangerously ill.⁴¹

Inactive Life :

Worse than such occasional sufferings was the thoroughly inactive life, Shahu was compelled to live in the camp. It is already mentioned that Aurangzib made early appointments of suitable teachers at an early age to educate him. But from the course of his later life, it does not appear that he received much of any education or training. Probably all that he was taught was how to read and write. But to him and incidentally to the Maratha kingdom of those days, arts of war were more necessary than those of peace. Yet there is no instance of his ever having drawn his sword or used any other weapon, even for once, during his stay with the emperor. Nevertheless, Shahu showed great patience with his lot and took no imprudent step for escape, nor accepted a hasty opportunity for release. The crafty emperor often probed into his mind, but he stood the test.⁴² Both Shahu and his mother kept in touch with the affairs in

* There are many accounts of such devastations, some even in the Nasir-i-Alamgiri. The following quotations from the Factory Records will give an idea of the same. Letter from Fort St. George, Nov. 6. 1702.

"Here is a news in town that where the Mogul is incamp there happened a sudden fall of waters from the mountain that swept away 150,000 persons besides elephants, horses, camels and baggage. We hope our enemies are among them". (Letters from Fort St. George, Vol. XI)

Bombay to Surat, Aug. 26, 1702. "We did advise your Excellency etc. that (we have) heard the sickness was in the King's camp of which many died. and that there was a scarcity of provisions, though heard, nothing (but from you) of the great mortality of elephants, camels, horses and oxen". (Factory Records, Bombay No. 17)

39) Storia, Vol. 4, P. 116

40) Sambhaji and Rajaram, PP. 86-87

41) Idem. PP. 120-21. Chitnis gives colour to the incident by remarking that Shahu fell ill on hearing the news of his uncle, Rajaram's death (March 1700)

42) Chitnis in Thakre Shahu Maharaj. PP. 4-5, gives some instances of this test. On one occasion the emperor is said to have offered to send Shahu back to his uncle, Rajaram. Shahu promptly replied that his uncle would only put him in his prison, and rule the kingdom.

the home country.⁴³ Indeed, from the ease and the familiarity with which Shahu, after his release, (1700) met the leaders and proceeded with his already settled programme, there is reason to believe that he did keep himself informed of persons and progress of events in the Maratha kingdom. He also made many friendships,⁴⁴ particularly of Rajput princes, which must have been of some help to him in his days of hardship, and which he took pains to maintain in his after-life. Aurangzib, however, had no suspicions about him. On the contrary, he must have been quite pleased with his prisoner's behaviour, for he went to the extent of even settling Shahu's marriage and celebrating it with pomp, and once more he conferred numerous presents on him.⁴⁵

Aurangzib's Obsession :

In Oct. 1699, Aurangzib; at the advanced age of 81, began in person the sieges of successive Maratha forts.⁴⁶ Since the fall of Golconda (Sept. 1687) - the remaining Muhammedan kingdom in the Deccan - the only enemies to be subdued by the emperor in those parts were the Marathas. After a war of 12 years (1687-99), Aurangzib found the latter still in possession of many strongholds in that wild and trackless country. Hence he decided to go in person against those strongholds⁴⁷, and "to root the Morattas if possible"⁴⁸ Very soon, and as the difficulties of the undertaking increased, it became an obsession of the emperor to come by the Maratha forts by any means and to re-name them with Islamic names. For six years (1699-1705), he and his huge army waged war without ceasing, and took possession of a number of those forts.⁴⁹ Only one of them was taken by assault; the rest capitulated for a time and for a price.⁵⁰ The case of Singhgarh, taken on April 1, 1703,⁵¹

43) Idem, Sambhaji and Rajaram, P. 63-64

Yesubai's letter, April 1705. Varshik Itivitta, Shake 1837, PP. 293-99

44) More about these friendships in Chapt. VII, under "Shahu in private life".

45) Nasir-i-Alamgiri, Modern Review, July 1916, P. 12 gives 1704 as the year of Shahu's marriage. Chitnis, Thodo Shahu Maharaj, P. 5 and Grant Duff History Vol. I, PP. 342-343 state that Shahu was married to two brides, Ambikabai Jadhav and Savitribai Shinde.

46) Nasir-i-Alamgiri, Br.Mu.Add.30,778; P. 316

The translator has given wrongly the Hijari year as 1110 instead of 1111.

47) "Aurangzeb is well aware that if he does not go in person at the head of his armies, it is impossible to become master of any fortress"., Storia Vol. 3, P. 305. See also Vol.4, P. 305

48) Bomaby General to Co. Feb. 9, 1703. Factory Records, Bombay Vol. 18

49) Sarkar, Aurangzeb Vol. V, P. 15. A list of Aurangzeb's sieges during these years is given.

50) Idem, P. 159. This single fort was that of Toma.

51) Idem P. 190. Singhgarh is 12m. S.W. Poona.

furnishes a good instance. On May 26, 1703, Bombay wrote to Surat, "It's most certain that the king hath taken Singur (Singharh) castle, and hath given to the Morrattas one hundred thousand rupees".⁵² To this, Surat replied (June 4, 1703), "We suppose the lack (lakh) of rupees given the Morrattas was the most prevailing argument for their quitting the hill".⁵³ Bombay concluded the topic by remarking (June 21, 1703), "We are of the opinion with you that the Morrattas had not quitted the hill, were not for prevailing money".⁵⁴ The Marathas did not mind quitting their forts, for they knew that they could retake them after some time.⁵⁵ When a fort fell into his hands, it gave an immense pleasure to the emperor to rename it,⁵⁶ but his men and officers had no heart in these campaigns. Many of them "had a right understanding with the savajees"⁵⁷ (i.e. Marathas) and openly partook "with them in their plunder".⁵⁸ The frequent illness of the emperor and the rumours of his death made matters worse. Knowing that he could not survive long, all acted "best for their own advantage."⁵⁹

Maratha Counter-offensives :

On Rajaram's death (March 1700) his minor son Shivaji II was proclaimed king of the Marathas, and Tarabai, the prince's mother acted as his regent. As the danger of Aurangzib's driving them out of their homes increased, the Marathas had to devise some defensive as well as offensive measures. In Oct. 1702 the English at Bombay were approached "to know --- if they (Marathas) should be closely besieged by the King's army, or forced to leave their places, whether we (the English) would permit their wives, children etc. of their families to reside

52) Factory Records, Bombay Vol. 18

53) Idem, Surat Vol. 100

54) Idem, Bombay Vol. 18

55) "At times he (i.e. Shivaji, meaning the Marathas) is sly enough to let a fort be taken, then waiting till it is fully provisioned and afterwards fortified, he retakes it with even greater readiness than it had ever fallen before". Manucci, Storia Vol. 3. PP. 305-06. The Marathas "in less than three months recovered the fortresses of which the conquest had occupied Aurangzeb so many years". Idem, Vol. 4, P. 238.

56) Nasir-i-Alamgiri gives the names the emperor gave to the forts. Thus Satara was called 'Azamtara', Parali 'Naurastara', and Panhala 'Banoshah-Dark' and so on.

57) Bombay to Surat, Jan. 12, 1703, Factory Records, Bombay Vol. 17; Manucci, Storia Vol. 3, P. 270

58) Surat General to Co. March 8, 1703, Idem, Surat Vol. 18

59) Bombay to Surat, March 11 1703. Factory Records Bombay Vol. 18

here".⁶⁰ The Portuguese at Bassein were asked the same;⁶¹ but as neither request was repeated, obviously the contingency did not arise. Apart from such defensive measures, the offensive ones taken by Tarabai, were equally wise and statesmanlike. Seeing the emperor permanently encamped in the Deccan, Maratha armies were sent out in all directions to harass the Mughal dominions, and thereby to relieve the pressure of the Mughal armies in the home country. The achievement of the Maratha forces during the seven years (1700-1707) can be called a triumph to their arms. On March 31, 1706, Surat wrote to the Co. "this King's country is everywhere miserably harassed by the Sevajees (Marathas) — they give him great trouble, and rob much in his own camp, and have according to common computation in all parts of his kingdom, about four hundred thousand men in arms, continually plundering, burning and destroying, and taking vast numbers of prisoners, which afford them to small gain to procure their ransoms".⁶² The Marathas, says the eloquent Manucci, "moved like conquerors, showing no fear of any Mughal troops".⁶³ While one of their armies proceeded towards the Mughal capital of Delhi in the north, another was pillaging the province of Arcot in the south; Orissa, on the east was entered by one, while yet another was harassing the Sonda country, and the English and Portuguese Settlements on the west.⁶⁴ In short, the Marathas traversed for the first time the extensive Mughal dominions in all directions, and after a few years it became easy for them to establish their permanent rule in many of those parts.

Aurangzib's "tricks" :

Besides the armies that were making incursions in the far-off parts of the Mughal empire, some were continually hovering about the emperor's camp. As early as March 2, 1700, Bombay wrote to Surat, "We hear the same news as you do, concerning the Muguls sitting down before Sitora (Satara), and of the Savajees (Marathas) robbing and

60) Bombay to Surat, Oct. 17, 1702; Factory Records, Bombay, Vol. 17

61) Idem

62) Factory Records, Surat No. 101

Manucci also says "The Marathas move about with their armies, and pillage the empire of Hindustan in all directions". Storia, Vol. 4, . 274

63) Storia, Vol. 3, P. 508.

64) For want of space details of these expeditions are not given. The main authorities for them are : Factory Records, Surat, Vols. 100, 101; Bombay Vol. 17, 18; Manucci, Storia, Vol. 3, PP. 305, 414-15, 422-23, 426, 500, 501-02, 503-04, 508; Vol. 4 PP 93, 228, 246, 249, 250, 274. Khafi Khan, Elliot Vol. VII, P. 374-75.

plundering all about him."⁶⁵ They also infested "all public roads, especially that which lead to court"⁶⁶ (i.e. Aurangzib's camp). Manucci mentions that, in 1701 this hovering army had the "temerity" of nearly attacking the emperor's tent, and the latter was forced to extricate himself as best as he could.⁶⁷ Later on, such attacks were repeated with more audacity and success.⁶⁸ One cause of those raids must have been the presence of Shahu in the imperial camp, inciting attempts to re-capture him.⁶⁹ In any case Aurangzib realised that the capture and captivity of Shahu in no way diminished the opposition of the Maratha enemies, but incited them to hang about menacingly round the royal camp. To get rid of the nuisance, he bethought himself to make some use of his prisoner. His one aim was "to raise discord among the Maratha leaders", and set them fighting among themselves.⁷⁰ In May 1703, he urged Shahu to become a Muslim, apparently to raise hopes of release; but the latter refused to apostatize.⁷¹ Then he opened negotiations for peace with Tarabai's general, Dhanaji Jadhav, and handed over Shahu to his own son, Kam Bakhsh (Nov. 27).⁷² As conditions of peace, Tarabai demanded the grant of Sardeshmukhi of 9 P.C. the release of Shahu from prison, and robes of honour for 70 of her Sardars.⁷³ "At last it was agreed that the Firman (i.e. letters) in name of the Ranee's (Tarabai's) Sardars should be issued, and when they arrived near the army, let

65) Factory Records, Bombay Vol. 17

66) Surat to Fort St. George, May 8, 1702; Factory Records Surat Vol. 100

67) Storia Vol. 3, P. 304

68) Idem Vol. 4, P. 244; Surat General to Court, March, 31, 1703; Factory Records, Surat Vol. 101

69) Chitnis says that Rajaram, before his death (March, 1765) made an unsuccessful attempt on the emperor's camp to carry off Shahu. Sambhaji and Rajaram, PP. 112-14.

70) Manucci, Storia Vol. 3, P. 498.

Among other methods of "deception" that he was practising on his enemies, one was to write tempting letters to lukewarm adherents of Tarabai. Idem P. 499.

71) Sarkar, Aurangzeb, Vol. V, PP. 204-205

It is said that Aurangzeb was so disappointed in not making Shahu a convert that, to appease him, another boy, a fellow-prisoner of the latter, was converted instead. The descendants of this convert are said to be still living near Satara. Itihas Sangrah' Junya Atihasik Gosti P.2

72) Khafi Kha, Ellici Vol. VII. P. 378

Sarkar, Aurangzeb Vol. V. P. 205. Manucci, (Storia Vol. 3, PP. 498-99) adds that at this time he gave to Shahu among other things "the right to receive 1/4 of the revenues of the province of the Deccan", and of those of Bijapur and Golconda. He made it known that he would retire to Delhi, while Kam Bakhsh would be the sovereign of the Deccan. This news, he hoped, would induce the Marathas to flock around the latter's camp.

73) Dr. H. Add. 26, 615-16

them first have a meeting with Shahu (Shahu), by whom they should be introduced to the prince (Kam Bakhsh) and by him to the emperor⁷⁴ Such letters were written to the Maratha leaders; but the emperor suddenly broke off the negotiations because he apprehended that a large Maratha gathering might carry off both Shahu and Kam Bakhsh.⁷⁵ In June 1705, Shahu, by command of the emperor, paid a visit to Firuz Jang Bahadur⁷⁶ (the Nizam's father), but the purpose of this visit is not mentioned. In 1706, Aurangzib made his last attempt to employ his captive to create fresh divisions among the Marathas. On Jan. 25, Shahu was ordered⁷⁷ to accompany the army of Zulfiqar Khan, the imperial general, on his march against Singharh, which was retaken by the Marathas. Persuasive letters were again written to the generals of the latter, inviting them to come and join their prince, Shahu;⁷⁸ they were also promised for their maintenance the tenth part of the Deccan provinces.⁷⁹ These men, however, being cognizant of Aurangzib's real intentions, replied that they had already a prince* of their own; and "as for the promised tenth, they would excuse his majesty from troubling, since they meant to collect it by their own armed force."⁸⁰ Thus, the notoriously suspicious and treacherous character of the emperor foiled his attempts to make political capital out of Shahu's Imprisonment.

Shahu's release, about April 18, 1707 :

Aurangzib died in his camp at Ahmadnagar on Feb. 20, 1707. His eldest surviving son, Muhammad Muazzam was at that time governor of Kabul; Azam Shah, next in age, was on his way to Mahwa, to assume the government of that place; and Kam Baksh, the youngest, was also on his way to Bijapur, whereof he was newly appointed the governor⁸¹ (Feb.4). On hearing of his father's death, Azam Shah hurried back to Ahmadnagar and seized the throne which he ascended with usual

74) Idem

75) Idem, Elliot Vol. VII, P. 376; Manucci, Storia Vol. 3, P. 493-99. The last one observes that Aurangzeb's only intention was to create a division among the Marathas, "who knew the tricks of the monarch, and took no heed" of his arrangements.

76) Nasir-i-Almghir, Modern Review, July 1916, P. 12

77) Idem, Khafi Khan observes that Zulfiqar Khan "got the emperor to get Shahu accompany him". Br. Mu. Add 26, P. 615-16.

78) Sarkar, Aurangzeb Vol. V, P. 207

79) Manucci, Storia Vol. 4, . 245-46

80) Idem.

* Shivaji II

81) Later Mughals, Vol. 1, PP. 4-5

ceremonial on March 2, 1707.⁸² He then proceeded towards Agra to give battle to his elder brother. At Aurangabad*, he was joined by the imperial general Zulfiqar Khan, who had Shahu with him (March 22).⁸³ This Mughal officer was all along on terms of intimacy with the Maratha "enemies". He had a "secret understanding" with Rajaram during the latter's stay in the south⁸⁴ (1690-98); and during Aurangzib's personal campaigns (1699-1705) he is said to have maintained "a right understanding with the Savajees"⁸⁵ (Marathas). According to one account, it was he who persuaded the emperor to hand over Shahu to his care; and then he "cultivated a grand understanding with his prisoner and renewed the friendship which had existed between him and some of his relatives."⁸⁶ Shahu remained with him for over a year (Jan. 1706-March 1707); and whatever his personal motives might have been, his good offices were mainly responsible for procuring the prisoner's release; for, soon after joining the new emperor, he and "several of Shahu's (other) friends" interceded with him (emperor) to grant Shahu his return.⁸⁷ Azam Shah gave his consent and when the imperial army reached Darwaha* about April 18, 1707. Shahu was set at liberty.⁸⁸

Conditions of Release :

Shahu's release was indeed sudden; but the histories do not account for it. From what is said previously, it is clear that Aurangzeb's intention was not to release Shahu, but to hold him permanently as a 'civil prisoner' and to use him as a political tool to weaken Tarabai's party. The most that he could have done to the latter was to raise him to some high position and place him under constant control of one of his sons or officers. His policy, however, proved a complete failure; and

82) Idem P. 5

83) Idem P. 11; Gadadhar Pralhad Shakavali, P. 69

84) Fort St. David general to Court, Feb. 14, 1699
Factory Records, Mss. No. 4A

85) Bombay to Surat, Jan. 12, 1703; Factory Records, Bombay Vol. 17
* About 63m. N.E. Ahmadnagar.

86) Br. Mu. Add. 26, 615-16.

87) Idem

88) Khafi Khau. Elliot Vol. VII, P. 395.

* About 90m. N.E. Burhanpur.

Azam Shah left Burhanpur on April 13, and reached Sironj on May 2, covering a distance of over 114 kos, after 17 days of marching and one day's halt. (Later Mughals, Vol. I, PP. 12, 15). By that rate the army must have reached Darwaha on or about April 18, and perhaps the one day's halt was made at that place.

his son could not have done a wiser thing than release Shahu at that time. Azam Shah's title to the imperial throne was yet to be established by contests with his two brothers. Besides, at the very moment of Aurangzeb's death, Maratha attacks were in progress near the camp and other places;⁸⁹ and one army of 40,000 horse was "within twenty five miles of Ahmedbad", threatening to sack that city.⁹⁰ Thus, it became necessary for Azam Shah to see that when he met his brother, the Marathas did not pounce upon his back nor join forces with his opponent. This was moreover a favourable opportunity to create further divisions among the Marathas by releasing Shahu; for, some internal dissensions among them were already visible.⁹¹ And lastly, the advice to the same effect of such a proved general as Zulfiqar Khan could not be slighted. Shahu was thus suddenly released. But he was not let off easily. He bound himself to remain loyal to the emperor; to succour him with men, if and when required; to desist from harassing the imperial domains; to establish himself in the good graces of the emperor.⁹² A royal order was issued conferring some rights on him, and declaring his title to the Maratha kingdom.⁹³ He was promised also the rights of Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi of the six Deccan provinces and other grants if he could succeed in establishing his rule in the Maratha country and in maintaining a satisfactory government.⁹⁴ Shahu was further compelled to leave behind with the emperor his mother and most of his other relatives as temporary hostages.⁹⁵ They were to be sent back - and in fact were sent back as will be noticed further on - after he crushed the "rebellion" in the home country and acted up to his pledges.⁹⁶ Only few of his people were released with him; among them were his wife Savitribai and his favourite Virubai.⁹⁷

89) Later Mughals Vol. 1, P. 5.

90) Surat General to Court, May 9, 1707; Factory Records, Surat Vol. 101.

91) Sarkar, Aurangzeb, Vol. V, P. 207.

92) Bahadur Shah's letter to Shahu, May 27, 1709. Rajwade Vol. 15, P. 269, Chitnis Thote Shahu Maharaj, PP. 3-9.

93) Idem.

94) Chitnis Idem.

95) Idem.

96) Idem.

97) Idem P. 10. Shahu's other wife had died in prison. Mr. Sardesai says that Shahu left both his wives behind him (Madhya Vibhag 1, P. 25); but that was not so. His only surviving wife returned with him, and died after some years. See Sambhaji of Kolhapur's Condolence letter to Shahu; Maharashtra - Sahitya 1928, P. 300.

Shahu's Title :

Azam Shah and his advisers had grounds to believe that Shahu's release would settle the Maratha problem at least for the time being. If Tarabai, the regent of the young prince Shivaji II, accepted the new emperor's recognition of Shahu's title to the Maratha Kingdom and handed over the reins of government to him, then he had pledged himself not to disturb the empire. If, on the other hand she disputed his title, then a civil war was bound to break out in that kingdom; and in that case also, the empire would be free from Maratha ravages. Unfortunately the second contingency arose and Shahu won the day. But before we follow Shahu's activities in that direction, it may be as well to say something about his title to his grandfather's kingdom.

Some controversy has raged over this question from time to time.⁹⁸ To show that Shahu had a better title than his cousin Shivaji II, it is argued, that he represented, the elder branch of Shivaji's house, that Rajaram did not crown himself with usual ceremonial; that the latter acknowledged Shahu's superior right; and that Shahu had the additional support of the imperial recognition. On behalf of Shivaji II and Tarabai it is asserted that Shivaji meant to give his kingdom not to Sambhaji but to Rajaram; that the former first usurped and then lost it; that Rajaram conquered it anew; and that his son Shivaji II was a *de facto* and *de jure* king. Much can be said on other side, but the controversy has missed one determining point. Whatever other rights Shahu had, he acquired one of "conquest". For, as it will be seen presently, and as he himself⁹⁹ reported to the emperor, he "fought vigorously and valiantly" with Tarabai's armies and won the battles. Though his success was mainly due to the desertion of many of the latter's men and officers, still the kingdom he was crowned king of was one he fought for and acquired.

Tarabai

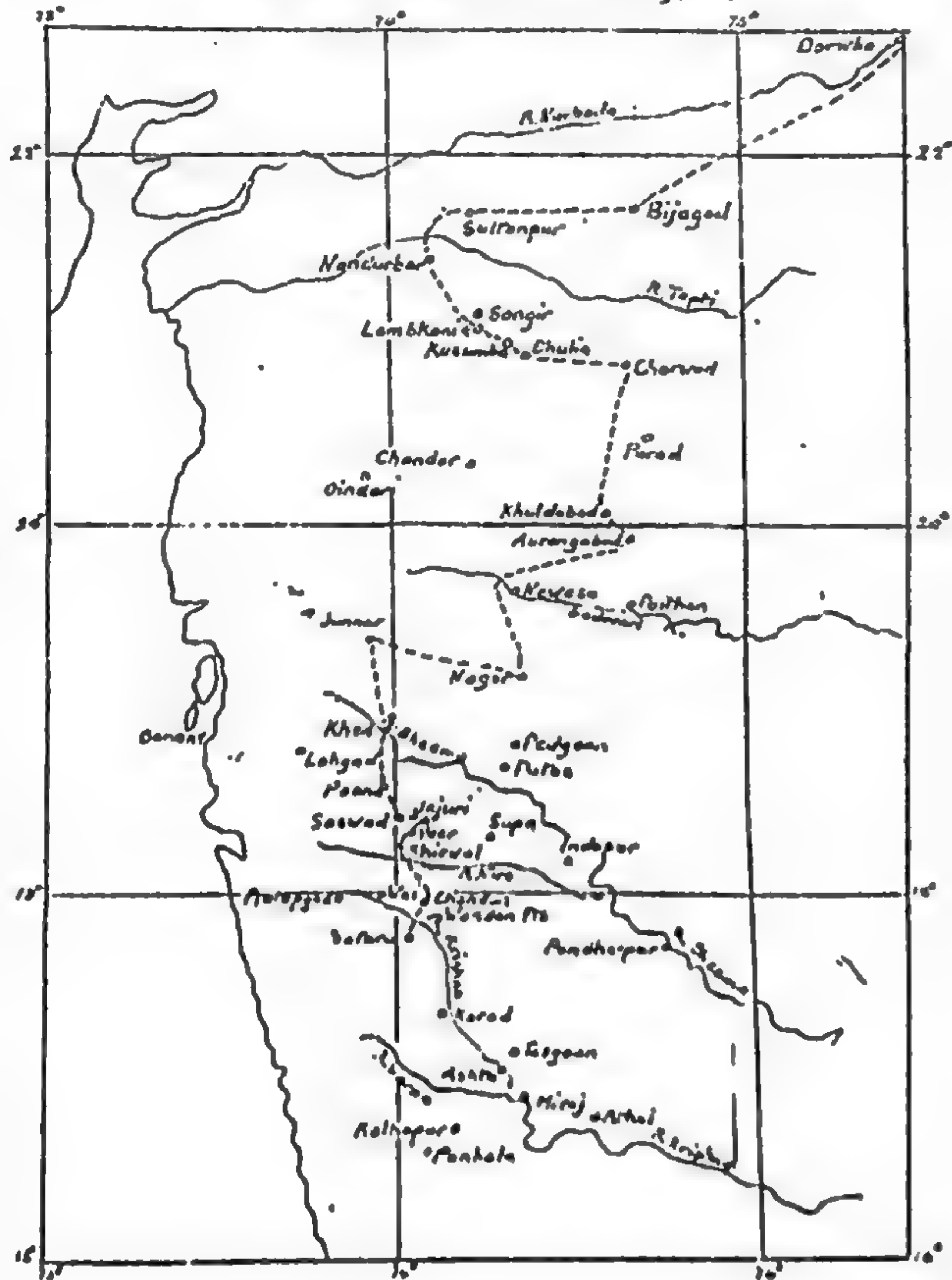
Tarabai's character has suffered much in this controversy.¹⁰⁰ Mr. Sardesai calls her mean-minded, haughty, ambitious and the like, for her insistence to have her son proclaimed king after her husband

98) For details, see Sardesai, *Riyasat Poorvardha* P.738-43; also the periodicals 'Vaidhadyan Vistar' and *Navayug*.

99) *Rajwade* Vol.15, P.289.

100) *Matalhi Riyasat, Purvardha* P.739.

Map referring to
The Early Activities of Shahaj.
 Scale 1" = 25 Miles.
 Dotted lines — Shahaj's home returning (1737).



Rajaram's death. But the historian is wrong. Next to Shahu, Tarabai's son was the oldest surviving descendent of Shivaji; and if he was not to be made king, was the throne to be left vacant because of, and during the former's imprisonment ? And what hopes were there in 1700, of Shahu's ever coming back from prison ? If Tarabai had not established herself at the head of the Government, there would have been most probably no Maratha kingdom for Shahu to claim. Besides, it was not Tarabai who grasped the power; it was the Maratha chiefs who crowned her son, and made her regent.¹⁰¹ Khafi Khan, the contemporary Muslim historian, whose good opinion of the "enemies of Islam" is the more valuable, says, "She (Tarabai) was a clever, intelligent woman and had obtained a reputation during her husband's lifetime for her knowledge of civil and military matters."¹⁰² She showed also "great powers of command and government", and carried on a vigorous war with such an enemy as Aurangzeb.¹⁰³ The defensive and offensive methods she adopted during that war have been already noticed; and all accounts agree that she achieved such a success that the emperor would have purchased peace on her terms but "for the honour of Islam".¹⁰⁴ Besides, - and this is news to many - Tarabai did try to secure Shahu's release,¹⁰⁵ obviously trusting that he would subordinate himself to the government established during his imprisonment. Her opposition to him afterward was due, as he himself said,¹⁰⁶ to his coming out on Azam Shah's command to enforce his claim of kingship. Her attempt to maintain a strict discipline estranged many adherents,¹⁰⁷ and she lost the day. She was too good a queen for her times which were characterized by a loose political morality.

Shahu Starts for Home :

On leaving the Imperial camp at Darwah on or about April 18, 1707 Shahu started his homeward journey. A rough sketch of the route

101) Khafi Khan, Elliot Vol. VII. P. 367.

102) Idem.

103) Idem PP. 367, 373-78.

104) Idem P. 405, *Istanbul Stories* Vol. 3. PP. 305-08 and Vol. 4, PP. 241, 274.

105) Br. Mu. Add. 2A, 615-16, P. 68.

106) *Rajwade* Vol. 15, Entry No. 2289.

107) *Bairbari to Bural*, Jan. 12, 1701 (*Factory Records, Bombay Vol. 17*) mentions her imprisoning Ramchandra Pant, but give a wrong cause. He suffered that fate on account of his suspected intrigue with Aurangzeb (*Stories*, Vol. 3, P. 409). The latter also mentions her orders to behead one of her generals for his unsatisfactory performance of his duties, Vol. 4, PP. 228-29.

is shown on the opposite page. At the time of his departure, he had only 50 or 60 men "who were able to accompany him".¹⁰⁸ They must have been his fellow-prisoners, his "friends and companions" who were released with him.¹⁰⁹ Since Azam Shah supplied Shahu with no equipments whatsoever,¹¹⁰ it seems he did not care what happened to the latter. It was, therefore, in the fitness of things, that Shahu approached and received the first assistance from persons whom Khafi Khan calls "rebels" against the empire,¹¹¹ "From Darwhah, Shahu went to Bijagad". Mohan Singh, "a noted rebellious Zamindar" of that place, supplied Shahu with some necessary equipments ¹¹² and conveyed¹¹³ him up to Sultanpur." It was at this latter place that Shahu made his first successful attempt to prevail upon an officer of Tarabai to support his cause. "Amboo, a Muhratta whose surname was band".¹¹⁴ that is to say, Amrutrao Kadam Bande, who was appointed to that district by Tarabai,¹¹⁵ and who held the fort of Kokarmanda," was a powerful chief. ¹¹⁶He commanded over 10,000 horse and 10,000 foot, and "ravaged the whole country from surat to Burhanpur". ¹¹⁷He was the first Maratha chief to take Shahu's side; and he furnished the latter with a body of men, and "sent him to the native country". ¹¹⁸

Shahu's Seal :

One reason why Shahu was on way to the east towards Nandurbar, must have been the presence of huge armies of Marathas round about that district. Some 40,000 horses of "Savejees" were close at the gates of Ahmandabad; and diverse armies were roaming about all over the

108) Khafi Khan, Elliot Vol. VII, P. 395.

109) Idem.

110) Indeed, all that Shahu had was a pony to ride. Shivcharitra Sahitya Vol. I, P.103.

111) Khafi Khan, Idem.

112) Idem.

113) Br. Mu. Add. 26, PP. 615-16.

114) Br. Mu. Add. 26, PP. 615-16.

115) Kafilayat-e-Yadls etc. P. 25.

116) Akhshik Bankin Sahitya. Vol. I, P. 138.

117) Khafi Khan, Elliot Vol. II, P. 395.

118) Idem.

* See sketch map.

* On the north bank of the river Tapi.

Shahu's seal



neighboring places.¹¹⁹ Shahu had to make himself known to their chiefs, and to induce them to recognize him as their king. His going to Amrutrao Bande was a success; and probably it was during his stay with him that he settled upon his future programme. Certainly, it was only a short time after he left the imperial camp that he assumed some insignia of Kingship. As yet he did not add to him name the full customary title¹²⁰ invented

by his grandfather, but he did cast his seal as given below, and used it throughout his reign. The earliest date of its use, so far known is May 25, 1707¹²¹ at which time he had not left the district of Sultanpur. The words of the seal can be translated thus. "Here shines the seal of Sambhu's son. Raja Shahu, whose power (or success) is increasing like the dwarf figure of Vishnu". The allusion is to the mythical story of the god Vishnu, who in his incarnation of Vishnu (dwarf) increased to a stature which filled the three worlds. It was a clever allusion indeed to Shahu's own condition at that time, and to the assurance he was giving others of the sure success of his cause.

His Progress :

"The next important stage in his homeward journey was reached in Khandesh (June-July). There a number of Maratha leaders acknowledged him as their king, and took to his service. In his order of Dec. 24, 1707 to Malhar Tukdev Purandare, whom he now made Mutalik (deputy). Shahu said, "When we came into the home country you were the first to join us at Lambkani in Khandesh and to serve us well".¹²² Many followed Purandare's example. Prominent among those who joined Shahu there with their armies were Parsoji Bhosle,¹²³ Sabaji,¹²⁴ Chimnaji

119) Surat General to Court, May 9, 1707. Factory Records, surat Vol. 101; Home Mis. No. 456A PP. 323-24; Bombay Gaz. Vol. II, P. 295-96.

120) The titles of Shivaji and his descendants were as follows. "Kshatriya Kulavatans Shree Raja - (his name) - Chhatrapati". ("The head ornament of the Kshatriya race, his Majesty", the Raja - lord of the royal umbrella"). see Grant Duff History Vol. I, P. 218.

121) Shahu's grant, dated May 25, 1707. Rajwade Vol. 20, Entry No 60.

122) Purandare Daftar Vol. I, P. 231

123) Itihas Sangrah Peshwa Daftar P. 119.

124) Idem, P. II

Damodhar,¹²⁵ Haibatrav Nimbalkar¹²⁶ and Nemaji Shinde.¹²⁷ Shahu promptly secured their services by bestowing honorary titles upon them, and enlisting them as his officers.¹²⁸ Kisu Trimal, an experienced general since the times of Sambhaji, had early joined forces with Nemaji Shinde and Parsoji Bhosle;¹²⁹ and with them he also went over to Shahu, and entered into his service. For, he was the latter's "Duan" (Chief-secretary) in Nov. 1707 when, as will be seen presently, he wrote a letter for his master to Sir Nicholas Waite, the E. I. Company's governor at Bombay.¹³⁰ Shahu, on his part, was not wanting in efforts to make his arrival in the Deccan known to all, and to induce them, to pay their allegiance to him. On July 9, 1707, he wrote to one Matajirao Jedhe as follows, "At present we are at Chorwad"---and shall soon be marching forth by stages. You being old and loyal servant we expect you to join us with your army and do your duty by us. After meeting we shall surely show our favour to you".¹³¹ On Oct. 7, he wrote to Shankaraji Raje Mahadik, the leader of a band of Marathas, "We are writing this letter with a particular intention. You should, without any doubt or hesitation, assemble all your followers and those who are friends to you, and join us. Whatever promises you make for the services of your men shall be fulfilled by us. We have despatched letters to all Sardars (leaders of armies) to the same effect".¹³²

Visits Aurangzeb's Tomb :

During his march from Chorwad to Aurangabad, Shahu had a skirmish with a Mughal officer of a small place called Parad* (Aug-Sept).¹³³ He reduced the place by means of guns; and that being his first victory he gave the name "Fattlesingh" (victorious) to its Maratha headman's boy, who solicited his protection after the skirmish was over.

125) Chitnis, Thore Shahu Maharaj, P. 12-13.

126) Idem

127) Idem

128) Idem

129) Gadhadhar Pralhad Shakavall

130) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 3, Jan. 27, 1708.

131) Rajvade Vol. 15, P. 358.

132) Itihas Sangrah, Prachin Marathe Sardar PP. 9-10.

133) Marathi Rayasat, Madhya Vibhag I, PP. 4-5.

* See sketch map.

134) Grant Duff, in his attempt to describe the "extraordinary origin of the Rajas of Akolkote" says that, during Shahu's skirmish at Parad "a woman bearing a boy in her arms rushed towards Shahu, and threw down the child calling out that she devoted him to the Raja's service" (History Vol. I, P. 344). An important piece of evidence which has lately come to light conclusively proves that Grant Duff's story is a pure fiction. In Selections from Peshwa Daftar Vol. 30, No. 336 it is recorded, that Fattlesing's wife reached maturity in Nov. 1711.

¹³⁴ Shahu treated the boy as his own son (who thenceforth became known as Fattasing Bhosle), and conferred on him the Jahagir of Akalkot* which is still held by the latter's descendants.¹³⁵ Shahu had by now collected a large army - he had about 20,000 horse alone. ¹³⁶ At this stage, he put off an intended march and went in person "to pay a mourning visit" to the place where Aurangzeb died.¹³⁷ There "he distributed money and food to the poor" (to invoke peace upon the departed soul), and thence marched with his whole army to Aurangzeb's tomb at a place called Khuldabad.¹³⁸ Thus, at the earliest opportunity after his release, Shahu paid his debt of gratitude to the late emperor. Aurangzeb, who had done him acts of real kindness.

Tarabai's Opposition :

As to when Tarabai first learnt of Shahu's release and departure for the Deccan, it is not known. ¹³⁹ Chitnis says that when Shahu crossed the river Godavari - he must have crossed it near Newasa* in Sept. 1707 - he wrote letters to her, intimating that he had left the imperial camp, and would soon reach home. But it is more probable that he intimated the same at an earlier stage of his journey, and that, when he crossed that river, Tarabai was ready with her plans to deal with him. On Sept. 16, 1707, she wrote in the name of her son, Shivaji II (as she always did) to the Government officers of Parner+ as follows, "Shahu Raja has left the imperial army and now come in your district. He will issue orders or make other pretensions. Heed not his orders, nor give him the revenues of your district. Whoever obeys him will not escape punishment".¹⁴⁰ This shows that Tarabai had early knowledge of Shahu's activities after his release - of his assuming titles of kingship, giving orders, receiving

She must have been, therefore at least 14 years old in that year, and her husband at least 18. Hence, at time the incident of Parad happened (1707), Fattasing's age was not less than 14, and he could not have been "a boy in arms". What apparently happened was that, on his father's death, Fattasing threw himself on Shahu's mercy, and the latter protected and afterwards looked upon him as his son.

- * These modern Native State of Akalkot lies between Lat. 17°, 17' 45" - 17° 44"; and Long. 75° 56' - 76° 28' 30". Thomson.

135) Ithas Bangrah, Peshwa Daftar PP, 12, 176-77.

136) Khafi Khan, Elliot Vol. VII, P. 395.

137) Idem. The place is about 2m. N.E. Ahmadnagar. (Later Mughals, Vol. I, P. I)

138) Khafi Khan, Idem

* See sketch map.

139) Thorle Shahu Maharaj P. 13.

140) Sanads and Letters PP. 193-94.

revenues, enlisting soldiers and in every way acting like a king. Naturally, she did not accept his rival claims to the kingdom which she could rightly be proud of having saved from the clutches of such an enemy as Aurangzeb, and which she was ably governing for the last seven years.¹⁴¹ She, therefore, decided with approval of her generals and chiefs to oppose him.¹⁴² She herself has described the action she took, in a letter she wrote on Sept. 17, 1707. In that she first gave very good reasons why Shahu could make no claim and then added, "those who have joined in this conspiracy (of making Shahu King) or will join it, shall be duly punished by the general, Jayasingh Jadhavrao, the Sarlashkar Hambirao Mohite, and other Sardars whom, we are sending with armies (against Shahu and his party). The Pratinidhi, Parashuram Pandit is also sent. Our armies will see that those who are intriguing with him (Shahu) will never lightly get off....".¹⁴³ Tarabai sincerely believed that her son's title to the throne was better than that of Shahu; and her officers concurred with her, at least at that time. Shahu, on the other hand, proceeded to assume kingly powers from the very hour of his release, and thus fulfilled the wishes of his Mughal patrons to divide the Marathas among themselves. In Tarabai's opinion he was a rebel; so she sent forces to suppress him.

Shahu approaches Bombay Governor :

When Shahu came to know that he would have to prove his claim by a battle, he stopped proceeding further south. He arrived at or about Ahmadnagar in the beginning of Sept. 1707, and remained in the same district for about two months. On Nov. 1, he wrote from Ahmadnagar to one Visaji Deshpande at Poona* as follows, "We have been pleased to grant you letters of safe conduct which we are sending hereby. Have no

* See sketch map.

* In Ahmadnagar district, 20m. W.S.W. of that town.

141) i.e. 1700-07. Khafi Khan says that, before she was made regent on her husband's death (1700). She had already obtained "a reputation... for her knowledge of civil and military matters". (Elliot Vol.VII, P.367). She must have had a large share of governmental powers even during Rajaram's life-time.

142) Chitnis Thore Shahu Maharaj PP. 13-15. This writer and many others have tried to give a bad colour to Tarabai's decision to oppose Shahu. But there is no doubt that, at that time, all her officers unanimously pledged themselves to support her son's claim, and to go against Shahu.

143) This letter is of great historical value, and sheds light on more than one point. It is given in full (in Marathi) in Vividha Dhyan Vistar. Feb. 1924, PP. 106-07; and also in Rhyasat Madhya Vibhag I, PP. 5-6.

fear, therefore, of any one ... We are marching forth slowly. You meet us on the bank of the river Bhima*, and then we will take your case into fuller consideration, and do what is just". ¹⁴⁴ This letter gives an idea of the embarrassments of many Marathas at the commencement of the civil war between Tarabai and Shahu, and their difficulties in joining either party. Shahu's position being very weak, he lingered about Ahmadnagar for a long time. Indeed, it is said that he would have made that town his capital, and fixed his permanent residence there if he had the emperor's permission.¹⁴⁵ When he left that town in the beginning of Nov. 1707, he did not go directly to the south (perhaps because Tarabai's armies were blockading that way) but bore on the west towards Junnar.* He remained in the neighborhood of this latter place until the end of Nov. On the 28th of that month, he and his chief secretary, Kishu Trimal wrote letters¹⁴⁶ to Sir Nicholas Waite, the General of Bombay. Shahu in his letter, informed the general of his arrival "on this side into Junnar" (Junnar) where armies were set upon him; he "corrected" them, but they "designed to return" he therefore, desired the latter "not to delay, if we (the English at Bombay) keep Friendship without difference, expeditiously to supply him with powder, Shott, Fire Lances, soldiers and some money". Shahu's chief secretary repeated the same request and added that, that was "a time to help for preserving future Friendship". The letters were sent through a special messenger; but for no known reason the General did not receive them until Jan. 26, 1708. On the 29th he sent replies, and informed Shahu, among other things, that he had come to know that the latter was the "True Raja's son and Lord of the Country". But all that the General gave Shahu was a piece of cloth.¹⁴⁷

Battle of Khed :

It is then clear that, before Nov. 28, 1707, Shahu had a skirmish near Junnar with one of Tarabai's armies, but he beat off his "Enemies". The latter "designed to return" soon; and from the hot-haste manner in

144) *Rajwade* Vol. 18, Entry No. 46.

145) *Riyasat, Madhya Vithaga* I, P. 4.

* See sketch map.

146) *Bom. Pub. Pro. Range* 341, Vol. 3, Jan. 27, 1708. As these letters and Sir Nicholas Waite's replies are very important and will be referred to more than once in these pages, an extract of the relevant portion from the Consultation is given as an appendix to this chapter.

147) For full replies of the General, and other matters, see Appendix to this chapter.

which the General was asked to send succour "expeditiously". Shahu expected another action - and apparently a big one - within a short time. Such an action did take place, and a decisive battle was fought at a village called Khed, about 24m. south of Junnar. Neither the date nor any authentic details of this battle are known; but from the preceding and subsequent course of events, it can be said that it was fought in the first week of Dec. 1707. According to Chitnis and other Bakhars,¹⁴⁸ Shahu had then about 20,000 men, while his opponents, commanded by Dhanaji Jadhav and Parshuram Trimbak, numbered over 40,000. Parsoji Bhosle and other chiefs, who had lately joined Shahu, fought on his side. The fate of the battle, however, appears to have been decided by the personal bravery of Shahu. As Chitnis puts it, "With a full intention to give battle, he put on his armor and wore his helmet. A bow and arrows in his hand, and shield by his side, he took his seat on an elephant. The Senapati (Jadhavrav) and the Pratinidhi also got ready for the battle. The king drove on his elephant and worked havoc with his arrows. Amidst columns of enemies he rushed through and took 10,000 of their warriors".¹⁴⁹ It was a complete victory for Shahu. Parshuram Trimbak and his followers ran away from the battlefield; Dhanaji Jadhav and his army went over to Shahu.¹⁵⁰ The prince cordially received his ex-enemies gave their Leaders robes of honour and enlisted them all in his service.¹⁵¹ An extensive Jahagir was soon conferred upon Dhanaji himself.¹⁵²

Chandan Wandan Forts :

Shahu made good use of his victory at Khed. He assumed in full the customary titles, and issued declaratory orders.¹⁵³ He made appointments of the more important officers; Dhanaji Jadhav was made

148) Thorle Shahu Maharaj, PP. 16-18; Patre Yadi FF, 490-91. See also Shahu's own report of the battle in Rajwade Vol. 15, Entry No. 289.

149) Chitnis Idem LP, IV, Probably 10,000 horses of the enemy.

150) There are many confusing and self-contradictory accounts of the battle and its aftermath. But it is quite clear that Shahu did win a victory, which induced a number of his opponents to go over to him.

151) Chitnis PP, 17-18.

152) See Rajwade Vol. 20, Entry Nos. 35-36. Two grants were made, One in Jan. and the other in March 1708.

153) Chitnis in Thorle Shahu Maharaj P. 13 says that orders declaring Shahu's royal presence in those quarters were issued at Poona (about 24m. S. Khed). But his further statement, that the prince assumed the titles of Kingship after coronation at Satara (P. 19) is wrong. Entry No. 95 of the Sel. Pesh. Daf, Vol. 31 bears the date Dec. 8, 1708 and shows that Shahu had assumed these titles at that date (if not earlier) when he was on his way to Satara.

general,¹⁵⁴ and Bahiropanth Pingle, Mukhya Pradhan ¹⁵⁵ (Chief Minister). Thus establishing some sort of government, obviously to show that his claim to the throne was recognized by the subjects and that he had acquired sufficient strength to exert this claim. He proceeded further south to capture other places, which were still held by Tarabai's officers. He had, however, no more immediate opposition to face; and, as will be seen on the sketch map, the halts in his march thenceforward were many. At Jejuri* and Veer,* both holy places, he performed many religious acts made some charitable distributions "on the back of an elephant" ¹⁵⁶ (which must have spread his name and made him more popular). From Shirwal*, he sent letters ¹⁵⁷ to Shankaraji Pant Sachiv who, like other officers, had pledged himself to support Tarabai, and who at that time was at Rohida fort in the vicinity of Shirwal. Shahu asked the Sachiv to see him and pay his homage, and incidently to recognize him as the king of the forts and the territory which lay under Sachiv's command. The accidental but timely death ¹⁵⁸ of Shankaraji Pant removed the cause of opposition from that quarter, and Shahu became master of the neighbouring forts of Rajgad, Prachandgad, Vichitragad (alias Rohida) and other places¹⁵⁹ Shahu next besieged¹⁶⁰ the twin forts of Chandan Wadan, and it took some time before these were surrendered to him¹⁶¹ During his encampment in this district, a number of Watandars (hereditary land-holders) who saw that this claimant to the throne was sure to be the king of the country, flocked to him to get their Watans

154) Chitnis Idem LP, 18.

155) Rajwade Vol. 15, No. 360 which is dated Dec. 15, 1707 and which is an order of Bahiropanth, contains his seal, in it he describes himself as Shahu's Mukhya Pradhan. His brother, Nilopant was at that time holding similar office under Shivaji II.

156) Chitnis P. 14.

157) Riyasat Madhya Vibhag I, PP. 11-12.

158) An absurd account describing how Shankaraji Pant committed suicide to keep true to his pledge to Tarabai is given by Grant Duff (Vol. I, P. 350 footnote). Even Mr. Sardesai appears to believe another version of the story, viz. that the Sachiv died by swallowing a diamond. (Madhya Vibhag I, P. 12). But a letter of Shahu's chief minister, written on Dec. 15, 1707, (which was immediately after the death) mentions in plain words that the Sachiv "has recently died". (Rajwade Vol. 15, No. 350). The story of suicide appears to have been invented by court-flatterers, who wanted to find some cause for his sudden death.

159) Riyasat, Madhya Vibhag I, P. 12.

160) Itihas Bangrah Peshwa Daftar PP, 39-40.

161) Parasnis, Life of Brahmaneka Swami P. 8; Marathi Daftar Rumal I, P. 114.

* See Sketch Map

confirmed.¹⁶² It can be said that, at Chandan Wandan, Shahu's power become firmly established.

Satara Surrendered :

There remained one more important place to be taken by Shahu to complete his first victory over Tarabai. This was Satara, the capital of Maratha kingdom. From Chandan Wandan, he went straight to the fort of Satara (or "Asam Tara" as Aurangzeb had renamed it) and invested the same. The commandant of the fort was a Muhammedan by name Shaik Mira. Parshuram Pandit Pratinidhi, who after his defeat at Khed had run away from the battlefield, took refuge in the fort and assumed its command.¹⁶³ Tarabai and her son Shivaji II had gone to Panhala, leaving the charge of defending the delivery of the place solely to Parshuram Pant.¹⁶⁴ Shahu wrote letters to the Pratinidhi and other Sardars demanding delivery of the place, but the latter prepared for a fight instead.¹⁶⁵ Mr. Sardesai says that it did not take long for Shahu to reduce - or rather win over - the fort, and that it fell into his hands within a week's time (Jan. 4, 1703)¹⁶⁶ But all accounts agree that Shahu was besieging it for a fairly long time before it was delivered to him.¹⁶⁷ The position of the fort was so strong and it was so well defended that Shahu could not conquer it. So he resorted to a device. He captured Shaik Mira's relatives at Wai* and threatened to blow them up from the mouth of a cannon, unless the fort was surrendered.¹⁶⁸ Parshuram Pant refused to submit. Shaik Mira, thereupon, treacherously imprisoned Parshuram Pant and allowed Shahu's men to take hold of the place.¹⁶⁹ Thus after a siege of over two months (Dec. 1707-1708), Shahu took possession

162) There are many cases to need mention. Itihas Sangrah, Peshwa Daftar PP. 39-40 furnishes a typical instance.

163) Pratinidhi Gharanyachi Itihas, Vol. I, P. 228-29.

164) Riyasal Madhya Vibhag I, P. 12

165) Chitnis, Thorle Shahu Maharaj PP. 18-19

166) Madhya Vibhag I, P. 12.

167) According to Kavyaitihas Sangrah Patre Yadi P. 491, Shahu invested the place for one year; according to Marathi Daftar Rumal I, P. 114, Shahu spent two years at Chandan Wandan before he got to Satara. Both Bakhars have exaggerated the period. Shahu himself has said in an order, which he made on March 10, 1708 (which was immediately after the fall of the fort), that when he came into the home country "other forts fell, but Satara kept on fighting". Itihas Sangrah, Peshwa Daftar, P. 10.

168) Chitnis Thorle Shahu Maharaj P. 19.

169) Idem, Patre Yadi P. 491; Rajwade Vol. 4, P. 31.

of the capital in the beginning of March 1708.¹⁷⁰

Shahu Ascends Throne March 1708 :

On the fall of Satara, Shahu formally seated himself on the throne in the first week of March 1708.¹⁷¹ At that time, he appointed - or rather confirmed most of the appointments, which he had already made at different times during his homeward march - the Ashta Pradhans.¹⁷² Bahiropanth Pingle was made Mukhya Pradhan; Dhanaji Jadhav, Senapati (War Minister); Naro Shankar, Sachiv (Chief Accountant and Auditor); Ramchandra Pant Punde, Mantri (Head of the Private Department); Mahadaji Gadadhar, Sumant (Foreign Secretary); Amburao Hanamante, Amatya (Finance Minister); Mudgalbhat, Panditrao (Head of the Ecclesiastical Department); Honaji Anant, Nyayadhish (Chief Justice); and Gadadhar Prahlad, Pratinidi (Vice regent). He also appointed a complement of under-officers for each department.¹⁷³ In these appointments, it is to be observed that Shahu showed no revengeful attitude of mind, but accepted the services of all those who were ready to serve him.¹⁷⁴ Neither did he forget those who were first to venture in

170) The main authority on which this date is based, is the judicial decision made in Shahu's camp on March 18, 1708. (Rajwade Vol. 15 No. 59). It makes clear that Shahu was besieging the fort for a long time, and was doing so in the beginning of Feb. 1708. Again in *Ithas Sangrah*, Peshwa Daftar P. 10 is given Shahu's sanad, by which he made a grant to one of the under officers of Shaik Mira. The date of the order is March 10, 1708; and this must have been made soon after the surrender of the fort, to reward the services of the grantee, who enabled Shahu to come by it.

• About 24m. N. Satara, See sketch map.

171) Mr. Sardesai, in his *Riyasat Madhya Vibhag* 1, P. 13, gives Jan. 12, 1708 as the date on which Shahu ascended the throne and quotes *Marathi Daftar*, *Rumal* I, P. 118 as authority. But he is absolutely wrong there, because the *Marathi* date given in that *Bakhar* comes to the Dec. 31, 1708. According to Chitnis, the event happened in the month of January (P. 19); but he adds that it was after the coronation, that Shahu assumed the royal titles and issued orders in the customary way. It is already shown that Shahu had assumed the titles, and begun giving such orders a long time before he took hold of Satara. It is probable Chitnis is anti-dating Shahu's ascension to the throne on the basis of such an order. Grant Duff, therefore, appears to be right in giving the time as March 1708. (Vol. I, P. 745)

172) Mar MSS. India Office Lib. No. 2018 etc., *Rajwade* Vol. 4, PP. 32-33.

173) *Ibid.*

174) One important exception is that of Parshuram Pant Pratinkhi, who had vigorously and more than once, fought with Shahu. The latter put him in prison, but he was afterwards reappointed to his office. See *Riyasat, Madhya Vibhag* Vol. I, PP. 47-50.

joining his side after his release. He rewarded their services in a very liberal manner.¹⁷⁵ Shahu was released from the Mughal prison on condition that he established himself at the head of the Maratha kingdom thinking that he had fulfilled that condition by ascending the throne, Shahu sent the following brief account of his post-release adventure to the emperor. "My Aunt (Tarabai) and officers of the State conspired together, and sent armies against me, their intention being to kill me and rule themselves. I ran into this danger (of being killed), because I obeyed the emperor's order and came into my country. I fought a valiant and vigorous battle, and thanks to the good wishes of the emperor, I won. I have imprisoned the rabel-officers and admonished them; and I am endeavouring to establish order (in the country). The emperor's command (at the time of my release) was that I should keep men under control, protect rayats*, personally administer justice, suppress rebels; and then my position would be safe. Bearing this command constantly in mind, I am ruling according to the principles of good government and Hindu Law".¹⁷⁶

175) There are too many grants Shahu made in this respect to mention. For them, see Riyasat Idom; Itihas Sangrah Peshwa Daftar P, II, 119, 163-69; Purandare Daftar Vol. I, PP. 167-168; Est. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, No. 307

* The word means peasants, but it is probable that it was used as synonym for subjects.

176) Rajwade, Vol. 15, No. 289. This is Bahadur Shah's letter to Shahu dated May 27, 1709, and in its beginning, is mentioned what Shahu had written to the emperor

* Until 1715, the governor of Bombay was called "the General of India."

Appendix to Chapter 2.

(Shahu 's letter to the English General* of Bombay and the latter's answer).

The following is a part of the Bombay Public Consultation held on Jan. 27, 1707-08 :

"And that the Secretary enters in his office two Letters, one dated the 14th Ramzan, the New Moon in November (i.e. Nov. 28, 1707) wrote in the Carnatick Language -- from Sow (Shahu) Raja to the General - - desires not to delay if we keep friendship without difference Expeditiously to supply him with Powder, Shott, Fire Lances, Soldiers and some money.

"And one other Letter from Kissu Trumball (Kisu Trimal) ? Chief Duan or Secretary to said Sow Raja, makes repetition the purport of Sow Raja's Letter which he desires may be sent with some Cloth and fine things of Great Price by the bearer of said Letter. Nowrojee Bushballrow, this being a time to help for preserving future friendship.

"And the Secretary enter next this Consultation the Generall's answer to Sow Raja and his Chief Duan or Secretarys Letters...."

(The General's letter to Shahu).

"To the Wise and Valliant Son Raja of Savejees whose Letter has been d-d (delivered) three days past your servant Nowrojee Bushbalro to the Honourable Sir Nich. Waite Knt. General of India for the English Nation at Bombay Wherein he's informed of your highness coming on this side into Junear (Junnar) where Enemies sat upon you without respect when you had corrected but they designed to return therefore you desire that I will expeditiously supply you with Powder, Shot, fire Lances. Souldiers and some money.

"I am told there has been for many years a very Friendly Allyiagnce preserved between the Savajee Rajas and the Honorouble the English Company; until Conajee Angria (Kanhoji Agre) and other little fellows, its said without Legall Authority took upon them to Violate these Ancient Articles by Robbing ships and Vessels upward three lacs of rupees of belonging to the Inhabitants under said powerful English Company with the colours and Passports, permitted by our Magnificent and Great Queen

which hitherto has not been punished. Believing said Angria was Vessall or Slave to the Rajes and receiving Several Letters from the Rana (Tarabai) which I answered with the respect of a friend granting what she desired and there informed her the wrong said Robbers had done the English but not receiving any letters in return determined to blow up and destroy said Angra and other and other forts along the seacoast had Cokaljee Naique the D'sai (Desai or land-holder) of Callyan (Kalyan) timely sent me word that your highness was the True Raja's Son and Lord of the Country and would see Justice done which I now request will then preserve further friendship and Allyance in honour to all the Savajees Princes whose Arms the Almighty God of Heaven and Earth direct. Bombay Castle January, the 29th in the year of Jesus 1707/8").

(The General's letter of even date to Shahu's secretary was substantially the same as this letter to Shahu).

Chapter 3

THE RISE OF THE BHAT PESHWAS AND THE DIVISION OF THE MARATHA KINGDOM

Soon after Shahu's establishment on the throne of Satara two important events occurred. One was the appointment of Balaji Vishvanath to the office of Peshwaship; and the other, the commencement of hostilities between Shahu and his cousin, the king of Kolhapur. Balaji Vishvanath's elevation to the post of the first minister of the kingdom culminated, after Shahu's death, in the transfer of the political power from the house of the Chhatrapati to that of the Peshwa. Similarly, the war between the two cousin kings ended in 1731, in a permanent division of the Maratha territories into the kingdoms of Satara and Kolhapur. It is therefore necessary to give a connected account of these two important events.

The Rise of the Bhat Peshwa :

The Name Peshwa :

The name Peshwa has acquired a special significance in the history of the Marathas. In the Muhammedan kingdoms of the Deccan, the Peshwa was generally the prime minister of the Sultan.¹ The historian² of the Marathas has given currency to the belief that Shivaji, on his coronation in June 1674, changed the Persian names of his ministers into Sanskrit and called one of them Mukhya Pradhan (Chief Minister) instead of Peshwa. But even before June 1674, this minister was officially known as "Pradhan". Thus, for instance, in 1657, Shamraj Ranzekar, Shivaji's first chief minister, in his official seal, styles himself as Shivaji's "Pradhan" and not as Peshwa.³ If any change was made in this respect

1) Briggs, *Ferishta* Vol. 3, P. 150 (see also footnote to the same page).

2) Grant Duff, *History* Vol. 1, P. 218.

3) Rajwade, Vol 15, Entry No. 438. There are many other papers bearing such seal in the same volume, e. g. 274, 275, 339 and 440.

after Shivaji's Coronation, it was the addition of the adjective Mukhya (chief) to the already current title "Pradhan". In a list⁴ of the names of ministers and their duties prepared by Shivaji's order soon after his coronation, the chief minister is called Mukhya Pradhan. From that time to the end of the Maratha kingdom, this has been his official designation. The appellation Peshwa was rarely used as its synonym.

The Bhat Peshwas :

That appellation, however, has now acquired an absolutely different meaning. The Peshwas have become a dynasty of "rulers". The founder of this dynasty was Balaji Vishvanath, who came from the Bhat family and was appointed chief minister by Shahu in Nov. 1713. Ever since that time, all the chief ministers of Shivaji's descendants who ruled at Satara have been the descendants of Balaji. What is more, the rule of primogeniture seems to have been observed in selecting persons from that family for that office.⁵

After Shahu's death (Dec. 1749), his successors were reduced to mere figure-heads, and the chief ministers usurped all the power. Though in theory the latter were still the servants of the former in reality they were the heads of the kingdom.

Why these "rulers", the descendants of Balaji, came to be called Peshwas, cannot be explained⁶, particularly since the official name of all of them, as found in their seals and State Papers, was the one fixed by Shivaji, viz. "Mukhya Pradhan".⁷ Now, however, it is generally understood that the name Peshwa, if used without any qualification, stands for the house of Balaji. The descendants of Shivaji are Chhatrapatis; those of Balaji, Peshwas.

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- 4) Kavyelihas Sangrah, Patra Yadi PP. 3-4. The list is dated June 21, 1674. Dr. Sen has translated it in English in his Adm. System PP. 50-51.
 - 5) Thus on the death of Bajirao I, 1740, his eldest son Balaji and not his brother Chimeji who was then living and had a greater experience than Balaji, was appointed "Peshwa". Again, on Balaji, alias Nanasahob's death (1761), his brother Raghunathrao was passed over in favour of Madhavrao, his eldest surviving son, and so on.
 - 6) One thing is clear. It is the Marathi narratives called Bakhars that made the name Peshwa more familiar and generalized its use. But why they preferred the Persian to the Sanskrit name remains unexplained.
 - 7) The several thousand pages of the selections from the Peshwa Daftar contain too many illustrations to refer. The general formula of each chief minister's seal, signified that he was the "Mukhya Pradhan" of the reigning king.

The Bhat Family :

The most that Grant Duff had to say about Balaji's early life was that he was the "Carcoon"⁸ (Clerk) of Dhanaji Jadhav, and that he could not ride a horse.⁹ Both the statements are, as it will be made clear hereafter, inaccurate. More is now known about Balaji and his ancestors. The Bhats had been one of the old and well-known families in the Konkan. The town of Sriwardhan¹⁰ and the village of Harihareshwar¹¹, both within the Sidi's State of Janjira, were their native places; and the village is particularly notable as being Balaji's birth-place.¹² Though the country had long been under the Muhammedan rule, firstly of the Nizam Shahi kings of Ahmadnagar and afterwards that of the Sidi of Janjira, still this Brahmin family of Bhats had attained a degree of distinction. The "Deshmukhi"* of the district of Danda-Rajapuri¹³ which was granted by the Nizam Shahi kings,¹⁴ and which was reconfirmed by the Sidi.¹⁵ always remained in their house.¹⁶ Some other titles which the members of that family attached to their names give an idea of the social and political importance the family had acquired. Thus, for instance, in 1697, Balaji styled himself as "Deshmukh"¹⁷ of Danda - Rajapuri", "Adhikari"¹⁸ (chief) of Sriwardhana", and "Sabhasad"¹⁹ (councillor) of Dabhol".* In 1716 he described himself as a "Desai".²⁰ His descendants, even when they were such high dignitaries as 'Peshwas' and as such, the practical heads of the Maratha kingdom, took pride in adding some title to their names.²¹ When Balaji had settled himself in the up-country, he could not personally hold the Deshmukhi at his native place. He was, therefore,

8) History Vol. 1, P 349.

9) Idem P. 353.

10) 62m S. E. Bombay. Lat 18° 3, Long. 73° 5. Thomson.

11) Also known as Hareashwar 3m further south from Sriwardhan.

12) Bom. Gaz. Vol. XI P. 457

13) Danda, about 15m north of Sriwardhan; Rajpuri, a mile further to the north. Though two separate places they were jointly known as Danda-Rajapuri.

14) Balaji's petition to the Sidi. Its date as corrected by Rajwade is Dec. 1710. Varshika Itivratna Shake 1837, P. 90. According to Mr. Rajwade, this Deshmukhi was enjoyed by the Bhats since 1478, Idem PP. 95-96.

15) Idem P. 96

16) Idem Shake 1835, P. 201.

* Grant of hereditary nature.

17) Varshik Itivratna Shake 1837, P. 90

18) Idem

19) Idem

20) Idem P. 80

21) See Sardesai, Ralyasul Madhya Vibhag Vol. I, P. 27.

allowed to appoint a deputy²², and that practice was continued by his successors. The attachment of the Bhat Peshwas to their native places was very great. They took part in their "gram-panchayats";²³ patronised their Brahmin inhabitants;²⁴ and bestowed so many religious grants that, in 1782 no less than 16 temples in Sriwardhan and Harihareshwar received benefits from the then peshwa.²⁵

Balaji Vishvanath-Early career :

During the hey-day of Shivaji's reign many persons of the Konkan migrated into the up-country, primarily to enter his service. Balaji's father Vishvanath Bhat, as Balaji himself says, "abandoned his home and went into the Maratha kingdom."²⁶ Mr. Rajwade has shown that this migration must have taken place before 1679, when Balaji was probably 25 years old.²⁷ What Vishvanatha did in the country of his adoption is not known. He must however, have held some post of honour²⁸ which enabled his son, Balaji, to rise to an important position in that new kingdom only a few years after Shivaji's death.

The story that Balaji was the clerk of Dhanaji Jadhav, when Shahu made him his chief minister (1713), is not true. Before Shahu's arrival in the Deccan (1707). Balaji was a well-established and first class officer in the Maratha kingdom. At different times he is designated by different official names, all of which go to show that he was both a military and a revenue officer of the superior rank. Thus, for instance, he was the "Sarsubhedar"²⁹ (divisional officer) of the Province of Poona in June

22) Varshik Itivryatta, Shake 1837, P. 90. the deputy was known as the "Deputy-Deshmukh of the district of Danda-Rajapuri." (Sel. Pesh. Daftar 30-42, 47). His duties consisted mainly of collecting revenues (Idem 30-47); of supplying the Peshwas with the necessary produce of the Konkan (Idem 18-3); and of keeping an eye on the movements of the Sidi and the neighbouring Mughal officers. (Idem 30-25).

23) Varshik Itivryatta Shake 1837, P. 90.

24) See Sel. Posh. Daftar Vol. 30, Entry No. 42.

25) Idem Vol. 32, Entry No. 196.

26) Varshik Itivryatta Shake 1837, P. 90. On P. 39 Idem Mr. Rajwade has shown that the Marathi word "Bado" in Balaji's petition given on P. 90 Idem, stands for Balaji's "father". In Br. Mu. Add. 26, 477 "Bakhar Rajyachi Wa Peshyachi" and "Marathi Daftar Rumat" 2, P. 91 It is said that it was Balaji's grandfather who went to Shivaji and secured employment. In any case, it is more probable that the migration was made by Balaji's father or grandfather, and not by himself as it is generally supposed.

27) Idem. P. 39, 95.

28) Raja Ani Peshwe Yanchi Bakhar (Br. Mu. Oriental MSS.) says that he was a "Sardar" of 2000 horse.

29) Sel. Pesh. Daftar 31-74; Purandare Daftar Part I, P. 3.

1699; the Mukhadhikari Ani Lekhak Mahalanihay³⁰ (head officer over all sub-divisions) of the same province in June 1701; the "Sabhasad"³¹ (councillor) of the same place before 1700; and the "Sarsubhedar"³² of the province of Daulatabad* in 1703-04. Besides these, some other minor titles were attached to his name, which also indicate that he had held offices of similar nature.³³ So, by the time Rajaram died (March 1700), Balaji was an eminent officer at Poona, near to the newly established capital of Satara. In 1703-04 ³⁴ he was ordered, apparently by Shivaji II, to collect the Chouth and other dues in the province of Daulatabad (of which he was also made the Sarsubhedar). He was given charge of a complement of under-officers, and his salary was fixed at 2000 hon a year. At this time, the last mentioned province in reality belonged to the Mughal empire; but it was in accordance with the practice of the Maratha kings to appoint officers at places which were not wholly their own but which those officers generally succeeded in reducing to their command. Balaji began extending his sway by making incursions in the Mughal dominions. In 1705, with an army, ten to twelve thousand strong, he ravaged the country about Dindori.*³⁵ In 1707, after Aurangzeb's death, he marched with a very large army³⁶ into the province of Gujarat, plundered in some parts and threatened to attack Ahmadabad, the capital of the province. All this created such a panic everywhere that, despite the thousands of Muslim and Rajput soldiers gathered by its Mughal viceroy to oppose the Marathas, peace had to be bought by paying Balaji a tribute of Rs. 210000.³⁷

Balaji's official position, moreover, was so high that he was allowed

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- 30) Itihas Sangrah, Peshwe Daftar P. 125. This is an order of Balaji in which he refers to a grant made by Rajaram in Oct. 1696, in such a way as to suggest that he was at that time in the same or similar office.
- 31) Sel. Pesh. Daftar Vol. 30, Entry No. 1
- 32) Idem Entry No. 335.
- 33) For these minor titles see Itihas Sangrah, Pesh. Daf. PP. 124-26)
- 34) Sel. Pesh. Dar. Vol. 30, Entry No. 335. This is an important State Paper throwing light on many points and will be frequently referred to.
- * Town of Daulatabad is 170 m. N. E. Bombay, Lat. 19° 57; Long. 75° 18. Thornton.
- 35) Bharat Itihas San. Man. Traimasik Shaka 1851, PP. 142-43; Atihasik Sankin Sahitya Part I, PP. 135-36.
- * Dindori, about 90m. W. Daulatabad.
- 36) "---- there is an army of 40,000 Horse of Gunlms or Sevejees within 25 miles of Ahmadbad who threaten to sack that city". Surat General to the Company, May 9, 1707. Factory Records, Surat No. 101.
- 37) General Records, Home Lias. 458A, PP. 323-24; Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, PP. 295-96.

to have his own seal even so early as July 1702.³⁸ As it was a fashion in those days to mention in the seal the source of its owner's elevation, Balaji ascribes his to nobody's favour. He was a man of abilities, and the high position to which he rose, was his own achievement. As to his relations with Dhanaji Jadhav, the then general of the Maratha army, he often acted on his behalf.³⁹ He was not a "clerk" to him; on the contrary, Dhanaji addressed him as an equal.⁴⁰ Not only the general but other ministers addressed him in very courteous terms.⁴¹ Balaji Vishwanath, therefore, was one of the prominent and well-known Maratha officers at the time of Shahu's arrival in the Deccan.

Balaji Joins Shahu :

At what stage of Shahu's homeward journey Balaji joined him is not definitely known. Mr. Sardesai says that Balaji knew Shahu while the latter was yet in Aurangzeb's prison,⁴² but there is no reliable evidence to support this view.⁴³ A more generally accepted story, which has its source mainly in Bakhars,⁴⁴ is that Balaji was with his "master" Dhanaji Jadhav when the latter went to oppose Shahu. It is said that he secretly ascertained whether Shahu was Sambhaji's son or an imposter and being convinced that the prince was not an imposter, he persuaded Dhanaji to go over to Shahu's side. But the "secret" mediator between Shahu and Dhanaji was, as Shahu himself has said, Khandoba Ballal Chitnis who was in Dhanaji's army at that time.⁴⁵ Moreover, when Shahu was released from the prison and set out on his homeward march, Balaji was in the vicinity of Ahmedabad in Guzerat, and there is no mention of Dhanaji being with him.⁴⁶ Up to Nov. 22, 1707, at least Balaji had

38) Purandare Daftar Pt. I, P. 8; Sel. Pesh. Daf. 7-5. This seal was as follows :

श्री रामकान्त पदार्थनेत्र भजनात् समुत्पत्ते । बाळाजी विश्वनाथस्य भुक्ता विजयवोत्तरा ॥

39) Idem PP. 8, 9, 10, 11.

40) Idem P. 7. In this letter of Aug. 1701, Dhanaji's introductory compliments are those which are used for an equal or superior person.

41) See the Pradhan's letter; Sel. Pesh. Daf. 31-80; Pant Amatya's letter, Itihas Sangraha, Peshwa Daftar, P. 122; Panditrao's letter, Idem, P. 122-123; and the Sachiv's letter, Shiv Charitra Sahitya Pt. I, P. 90.

42) Riyaset, Madhya Vibhag Vol. I, P. 30. The historian quotes no authority for his statement.

43) In Triloka Sammelan Vrilla, Shahu 1837, Pt. 87-89 there is given an absolutely unhistorical account of Balaji's first taking Shahu into Aurangzeb's camp and afterwards bringing him back.

44) There are too many such Bakhars. For a specimen account of the story, see Sane's "Peshweyanchi Bakhar". Prof. Sinha appears to accept the story. (Rise of the Peshwas P. 5)

45) See Shahu's Sanad to Khandoba's son, Sanads and Letters P. 219.

46) Vide Supra.

not changed sides, for, on that date Shivaji II gave him an order as his officer of the province of Daulatabad.⁴⁷ It is certain however that Balaji joined Shahu before the latter seated himself on the throne at Satara (March 1708), for on that occasion Balaji was made a "Senakarte"⁴⁸ (Maker of Armies). It can, therefore, be said that, after the battle of Khed (Dec. 1707) was fought and won by Shahu, Balaji followed the example of Dhanaji and others, and went over to the new king. Balaji's reputation as the organizer and commander of armies secured for him the high post of Senakarte. The first necessity of Shahu in the beginning of his reign was a strong army; and he gave the work of recruitment to many commanders and assigned the revenues of particular districts for their expenses.⁴⁹ On Dec. 12, 1708 he conferred one half of the yearly revenues of a certain district on Balaji for the expenses of raising an army.⁵⁰ The "Senakarte" proved so efficient an organiser of armies and pleased Shahu so much that, on Aug. 21, 1711 the latter granted him a Saranjam (fief) yielding an early revenue of over Rs. 2500000.⁵² It is, therefore, clear that Balaji's adherence to Shahu's party became prominent after the latter's coronation (March 1708); but his rise was rapid, because his services to the newly established king were very useful.

47) Bharat. Ili. San. Man. Traimasik, Shake 1845-46, P. 89.

48) Mar. M.S.S. India Office Lib. No. 2918; Rajwade Vol. 4, P. 33. Prof. Sinha in his "Rise of the Peshwas" says "On the occasion of his coronation, Shahu appointed him (Balaji) Mutalik (deputy) to the Amatya Amburao Hanmanto" (P. 5), and gives as authority Tntiya Sammelan Vritta PP. 85-91. It is amazing that there is absolutely no such mention in the authority quoted. In Rajwade Vol. 15, P. 59 one Balaji Vishvanath is mentioned as being such a Mutalik on March 18, 1708. Mr. Sardesai tries to explain that Shahu appointed an experienced man like Balaji's deputy to help an inexperienced Amatya. (Madhya Vibhag Vol. I, P. 31). But this reason is not convincing. Why did not Shahu appoint Balaji to the main post instead of making him a subordinate officer? Balaji was not made a deputy at all. He was made "Senakarte", an independent officer by himself. The Mar. MSS. India office Lib. and Rajwade Vol. 4 quoted above are strong authorities for that. The Balaji that was made deputy to the Amatya was obviously some other person of the same name. Mr. Sardesai would agree that there were many persons of the same name at one time. Two such persons at the future Peshwa's time are mentioned. See Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 22, Entry No. 5; Vol. 30, Entry No. 312.

49) For names of these Commanders and Shahu's orders to them see Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 7, Entry No. 17; Vol. 30, Entry No. 17; Vol. 31, Entry No. 100 and some other entries in the same volumes.

50) Idem Vol. 30, Entry No. 2.

51) Idem Vol. 7, Entry Nos. 2, 3. The story of the Bakhars (see e.g. Sane, "Peshwyanchi Bakhars" PP. 11-13) that the Sidi of Janjira drowned Janoji in the sea, which frightened Balaji away, is a pure myth. Janoji was in Shahu's service at least till Aug. 1708 while Balaji had become a well-established officer in the Maratha kingdom by 1700.

52) Shahu's diary PP. 45-46.

Shahu's Early Difficulties :

Though Shahu had fought for his throne, his position during the first few years of his reign was not at all secure. From March 1708 to Oct. 1716 he personally conducted campaigns against Tarabai whose opposition he had to overcome before he could turn his attention to anything else.⁵³ Moreover, bands of Marathas who, in the late war with Aurangzeb had taken to arms, were now ravaging the country in all directions. One of their parties appeared in front of Surat in March 1712;⁵⁴ another near Karwar in January 1714;⁵⁵ and as regards the condition of other places, Bombay wrote to the Company on Jan. 19, 1711, "The Sevajees (i.e. the Marathas) rob all about them".⁵⁶ The disturbances created by Damaji Thorat and Udaji Chavan were even of a graver nature. Besides, such powerful chiefs as Kanhoji Angre and Khanderao Dabhade were openly assisting Tarabai against Shahu.

The new king first dealt with the petty disturbers, and next suppressed or won over the stronger rebels. He issued commissions by scores to his officers to enlist in his service as many men as they could get, and to establish peace and order in the places which were under their control.⁵⁷ By virtue of these commissions he also granted the Mokasas or portions of revenues of lands over which his authority was not yet extended, but which his sardars soon brought under his command. He gave numerous inams to persons who distinguished themselves in his service.⁵⁸ One such case is of particular importance. on Feb. 3, 1700 Shahu confirmed a grant made previously by his opponent Shivaji II.⁵⁹ This shows the political sagacity of the prince⁶⁰ whose affable character as a king was the chief source of his strength.

Shahu's cause, however, remained precarious for sometime, and he put his faith more in divine protection than in his own following. Thus his Public Diary of March 6, 1714 mentions that he had made a vow to give 1½ seers of gold to the temple at Jejuri* if he would succeed

53) Vide *Infra* Sec. II

54) Bom. to Co. March 25, 1712; Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol. I, P. 169.

55) Bom. to Co. March 20, 1714; *Idem* P. 101.

56) *Idem* PP. 152-53.

57) See *Sel. Pesh. Daf.* Vol. 30, Entry Nos. 3, 4, 7, 11, 13, 15, 17; and *Idem* Vol. 31, Entry Nos. 97, 98, 100, 101, 102, 109, 110, 113. These are all Shahu's orders from 1708 to 1715.

58) Many of Shahu's orders making these inams can be found in *Itihas Sangrah Peshwa Daftar*.

59) *Rajwade* Vol. 15, Entry No. 210.

60) Shahu was not crowned king at the time of the grant.

in his political plans. "By God's grace" reads the Diary, "the execution of the plans was started; the lands and forts conquered; and our desire fulfilled. We order therefore that the amount of gold be given."⁶¹

Senapati's Desertion :

Dhanaji Jadhav, whom Shahu confirmed in his office of Senapati (genaralissimo) at the time of his ascension to the throne died in June 1708.⁶² His son Chandrasen Jadhav succeeded his father soon after the latter's death. Early in 1711, some differences arose between Balaji Vishvanath and Chandrasen Senapati, in which Shahu took Balaji's side.⁶³ This disgusted the Senapati so much that he openly deserted his master.⁶⁴ This was the first challenge to Shahu's newly established authority, and he was so incensed at the desertion that he took all possible steps to chastise Chandrasen. Shahu's Public Diary of the next ten years is filled up with his proceedings against the deserter.⁶⁵ Chandrasen first went over to Tarabai, and later on joined the Mughal officers in the Deccan against Shahu.⁶⁶

Other Disturbances :

About this time the headman, of a village called Khatav near Satara, started committing such depredations in Shahu's little territory that, the king was obliged to send Balaji Vishvanath and Shripatrao (the future Pratinidhi) against the village (1712). The headman was a Hindu named Krishnarao, but he owed allegiance to the Mughal emperor. The two parties fought a battle in which Krishnarao was killed. His two sons applied for and obtained Shahu's protection, and later on were admitted into the King's service.⁶⁷

Similarly Damaji Thorat, who was a free lance and who ravaged the neighbouring country, was captured by Balaji in 1718 and thrown into prison, where he died in 1728.⁶⁸

61) Sol. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, Entry No. 337.

62) Sardesai, Riyasat, Madhya Vibhag Vol. I, PP. 20-21.

63) For an account of this dispute see Idem. PP 36-37.

64) See Chandrasen's own letter to Tarabai, of Aug. 27, 1711; Bharat Varsh, Patre Yadi Vol. I, No. 60.

65) See Sol. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, PP. 232-241.

A portion of these proceedings is translated in Chapter VII infra.

66) Idem P. 236.

67) Sardesai, Riyasat Madhya Vibhag Vol. I, PP. 43-44.

68) Idem PP. 60-62.

Balaji Vishvanath Appointed Peshwa (Nov. 17, 1713) :

It is thus clear that in most of the actions, which were fought for the king in those early years, Balaji Vishvanath was of great help to Shahu. It is already mentioned that Balaji had, a long time before, made his name as a military and revenue officer, and that, as an organizer of armies he had done signal service to the king. In 1713 an unexpected occasion arose which gave Balaji his life's chance. In that year Shahu's first Peshwa Bahiro pant Pingle was sent against Kanhoji Angre who, upon Tarabai's instigation, was making inroads into Shahu's country. Kanhoji not only defeated but captured Bahiro pant and held him as a prisoner.⁶⁹ At this critical hour Shahu found it absolutely necessary to appoint someone in Bahiro pant's place. The only person who was on his side, and who could shoulder the duties of the Chief Minister, was Balaji Vishvanath.⁷⁰ Shahu therefore gave robes of honour of that office to Balaji at a village called Manjari, about 8 miles from Poona,⁷¹ and thus made him his Peshwa on Nov. 17, 1713⁷²

Balaji immediately proceeded against Kanhoji Angre, and was fortunate to settle peace with him without any loss of blood.⁷³

Balaji's Successors :

The most important political event which occurred during Balaji's Peshwaship was his treaty with the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan and his subsequent march to Delhi (1718-19) . This with the succeeding extension of the Maratha power will be described in Chapter V. Here it may be mentioned that, with Balaji's accession to the post of the Peshwaship, it became hereditary in his family. The main cause of this hereditary transmission of the office was ability of both Balaji's son and grandson who succeeded one after the other. But it is also true that the principle of hereditary succession to public offices was always at the basis of the Maratha government.

Balaji Vishvanath died on April 2, 1720.⁷⁴ He left two sons, Bajirao and Chhima ji Appa. Shahu appointed Bajirao to his father's post on April

69) *Vide Infra* Chapt. IV.

70) Marathi MSS. India Office Library No. 2916, P. era. PP 10-11.

71) Sardesai, Riyasat Madhya Vibhag Vol. 1, P. 46.

72) Shahu's Diary P. 42.

73) *Vide Infra* Chapt. IV.

74) Sardesai, Riyasat, Madhya Vibhag Vol. I, P. 124.

18, 1720.⁷⁵ On June 19, 1728 Chimaji Appa was made deputy to the Peshwa.⁷⁶ Bajirao died on April 28, 1740,⁷⁷ and his eldest son, Balaji Bajirao alias Nanasaheb was made Peshwa on June, 25.⁷⁸ He was holding that office when Shahu died on Dec. 15, 1749.

2. Division of the Maratha Kingdom

The Maharaja of the present Native State of Kolhapur in the Deccan is the direct descendant of Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Raj. The history of the establishment of this principality is the history of the relations between Shahu and his two cousins, Shivaji II and Sambhaji II.

Shahu's Conciliatory Policy :

It is already mentioned that when Tarabai, the mother regent of Shivaji II, heard of Shahu's release from the Mughal prison and advance in Maharashtra, she sent forces to oppose him.⁷⁹ A battle was fought between the two parties at Khed in Dec. 1707, and Shahu obtained a complete victory. He then continued his march against Satara. At this time, it appears that Shahu made an offer to settle the dynastic quarrel in an amicable manner. On Jan. 16, 1708 at which time he must have been in the vicinity of the Chandan Wadan forts near Poona - he proposed some articles of peace. The substance of these articles was that, the territory lying between the confluence of the rivers Krishna and Warna on the west and that of the Krishna and Tungabhadra on the east should be divided into two parts; that, Shahu should have the north-western part and his cousin, Shivaji II, the south-eastern part together with some places in the Konkan; and that, disloyal servants of one master should not be engaged by the other.⁸⁰

Apparently, Shahu's proposal was not accepted, and he was compelled to fight all along his way to Satara. This enraged him so much

75) Shahu's Diary, P. 42

76) Idem P. 48.

77) Sardesai, Riyasat, Madhya Vibhag Vol. I, P. 391.

78) Shahu's Diary, Entry No. 103.

79) Vide Supra Chapl. 2

80) This proposal is described as a "Tahanama or treaty made by Shahu in favour of Shivaji II". This shows that the negotiations were conducted to a ripe stage; but the cause of their failure is not known. The "treaty" is given in full in Marathi on PP. 410 - 11 of Rajwade's Vol. 20.

against Tarabai that, so soon as he was crowned king in the first week of March 1708, he marched forth against his aunt and cousin.

Shahu Had No Ill Feelings :

The civil war of the Marathas continued, Tarabai would not recognise Shahu's claim to any part of Shivaji's kingdom. "We hear" she wrote on Sept. 17, 1707 "that Shahu is coming away from the Mughal prison (to claim this kingdom). It is known to all that the great Shivaji founded and enriched it at an immense cost of labour. Sambhaji (his elder son) completely lost it. Then came Rajaram, (Shivaji's younger son, the husband of Tarabai and father of Shivaji II) who regained the lost territories by dint of his valour. He therefore established a new kingdom. Moreover, Shivaji intended to leave his kingdom to Rajaram. Shahu (the son of Sambhaji) has, therefore, nothing to do with this Raj".⁸¹ This being Tarabai's firm opinion she naturally discarded any offers for partition between Shahu and Shivaji II. On the other hand, Shahu's success was, in the words of his own motto "increasing like the dwarf figure of Vishnu". So far he had not lost a single action, and his adherents were growing in number. The first thing he had to do now was to overcome Tarabai's opposition to end the civil war. His attempt at a peaceful settlement having failed, the only way open to him was to conquer the remaining places in his opponents' possession, and compel them to surrender themselves.

It is however worth mentioning that, at a time when whole families were massacred before one Mughal emperor succeeded another, Shahu bore no ill-feeling towards the person of his aunt or those of his cousins, Shivaji II and Sambhaji II - even when they put him to great trouble. Shahu's heart was exceedingly soft to all his kith and kin, and no less to them who were at first his enemies. It will be related presently that Tarabai lived with him for a long time and enjoyed his hospitality and that Sambhaji II found in him his first best friend. What actually moved Shahu to commence hostilities at this time was the necessity to make his own position safe. If Tarabai had shown any inclination to settle the matter peacefully, nothing would have pleased him more. This was for him a war of necessity, and he continued it only so long as the necessity lasted.

81) This is an original letter in Marathi. It is printed in full on PP. 5-6 of Sardesai's *Riyasat*. Madhya Vibhag. Vol. I

Another feature of this civil war was that Shahu undertook it in person. It was one of his great failures that he did not go on any big expedition throughout his long reign. But the campaigns, first against Tarabai and afterwards against Sambhaji II, he conducted personally. He looked upon these hostilities as a pure family affair, and rarely allowed even his own officers to interfere. He wished to restrict their scope as far as possible.

A Desultory Warfare (1708-1710) :

When Tarabai came to know that Shahu was preparing to march against her, she and Shivaji II left Panhala (their official residence) and took refuge at the impregnable fort of Rangana*.⁸² Shahu did not rest at Satara after that capital was reduced in the beginning of March 1708; he immediately proceeded against Rangana which he besieged at the end of the month.⁸³ Tarabai was not unprepared for this attack. Her Amatya, Rachandra Pant had put the fort in a posture of defence; and such powerful chiefs like Kanhoji Angre and Savantvadikar Bhosale were assisting the queen with all their forces.⁸⁴ Shahu laid siege against the fort for a long time, but achieved nothing. He once determined to make an assault, and charged his horse at the head of his army. The horse stumbled, and it was with great difficulty that he was saved from being whirled off.⁸⁵ By this time Tarabai and the other members of the royal family were removed by a secret passage to the sea fort of Malwan.⁸⁶ Shahu realized the futility of pressing the siege any longer and proceeded northward towards Panhala. He took that fort easily (June)⁸⁷, and after

* About 60m. S. Panhala.

82) Chitnis, Thorle Shahu Maharaj, P. 20.

83) Mr. Sardesai says that Shahu went first against Panhala took it with some other places, and then marched against Rangana (Riyasat Madhya Vibhag Vol. I. P. 15). But this Entry No. 59 in Rajwade's Vol. 15, which is a judicial decision in Shahu's own camp, and which is dated March 18, 1708 mentions that, soon after the fall of Satara, Shahu "went hurriedly against Rangana". And on the very day of this decision the king's camp was at Patgaon, in the neighbourhood of Rangana. Moreover, a grant made by the king on March, 28, affirms that Shahu was, on that day, close to Rangana (Itihas Sangrah, Peshwa Daftar P. II). Besides, Mr. Sardesai himself admits that Shahu was at Panhala on June 24, (Riyasat, Idem P. 16). From all this it is clear that the king went first against Rangana and from thence returned towards Panhala.

84) Rajwade Vol. 8, Entry No. 62.

85) Chitnis, Thorle Shahu Maharaj P. 21 .

86) Sardesai, Riyasat Madhya Vibhag Vol. 1, P. 16.

* About 208m. S. Bombay.

87) Sardesai, Riyasat, Madhya Vibhag Vol. I, P. 16.

taking some other minor places he went to Kolhapur (July).⁸⁸ He lingered in the neighbourhood for sometime and returned to Satara.⁸⁹

When Shahu's back was turned Tarabai hurriedly made her way to Panhala, and induced Shahu's commandant in charge of that fort to deliver it.⁹⁰ In this manner, captures of places by one and recaptures of the same by the other party continued for two years,⁹¹ at the end of which both of them were exhausted, and actual hostilities ceased (Oc. 1710). Tarabai, however, continued to strengthen her own party. She compelled Savantwadikar Bhosale (who had begun to vacillate) to enter into a favourable treaty;⁹² and she bestowed new honours upon Kanhoji Angre to ensure his loyalty. Bombay wrote to the Company on Jan. 14, 1712, "Conajee Angra has been visited by his queen to whom he has made large presents, and she has committed to his charge now seven castles".⁹³

Revolution at Kolhapur, Dec. 1714 :

While Tarabai was busy fortifying places and confirming alliances, a sudden revolution occurred in the government of Kolhapur. We have seen in Chapter I that Rajaram left two sons, Shivaji II by Tarabai and Sambhaji II by Rajasbai. The former was born on June 8, 1696 and was the elder of the two. He therefore succeeded his father in March 1700; but as he was a minor, his mother Tarabai was appointed regent by the Maratha chiefs. What treatment Rajasbai and Sambhaji II met at the hands of the regent is not known. It is already mentioned that the story of Tarabai's throwing the mother and her son in prison does not appear true. She might have, however, kept them both under some restraints to prevent them from attempting anything against her.

Sambhaji II was born on June 20, 1698,⁹⁴ and lived with his mother at the fort of Panhala where Tarabai and her son also lived. Towards

88) On July 7, 1708 Shahu made a grant of the Sardeshmukhi right of the district of Kolhapur to Fatesing Bhosale, his adopted son. (See *Itihas Sangrah*, Peshwa Daftar P.12) It is reasonable to suppose that, on that day, the King's camp must have been at Kolhapur.

89) Chitnis, *Thori Shahu Maharaj* P. 21.

90) *Idem* P.22.

91) See *Rajwade* Vol. 3, Entry No.64; *Watan Patra*, *Nivand Patra Vagadre*, P. 1, *Sul. Pesh. Daf.* Vol. 30, Entry Nos. 5, 8, 10, 19.

92) *Sardesai, Riyasat Vibhag* Vol. I, P. 20.

93) *Bombay Letters Received* Vol. I.

94) *Vide Supra* P. 23.

the end of the year 1714 Rajasbai seized the throne for her son, and Tarabai and Shivaji II were put in confinement. Not one original paper shedding light on so great an event has been discovered; and neither the time of its occurrence nor any other details are known. After some years Tarabai wrote a letter in which she referred to the revolution in these words, "Owing to the irony of fate, Sambhaji and Rajasbai secured the assistance of Antaji* Trimal, Giroji* Yadav, Tulaji* Shitole and others who were in charge of the fort (of Panhala). They placed Sambhaji on the throne and brought disaster upon us".⁹⁵ This must have happened in Dec. 1714.⁹⁶

Shivaji II died of small-pox on March 24, 1726 when he was still in the prison at Panhala.⁹⁷ Tarabai stayed with Sambhaji II till 1734, by which time peace between Satara and Kolhapur came to be firmly established. In that year Shahu expressed a strong desire to meet Tarabai who, therefore, went to Satara⁹⁸; and as she was not very happy at Kolhapur she stayed with Shahu at Satara till the time of his death.⁹⁹ From 1714 to 1749 Tarabai appears to have lived a purely private life.¹⁰⁰

* Nothing is known about these persons.

95) Tarabai's own letter, Rajwade Vol. 8, Entry No. 169.

96) See Sanads and Letters P. 205.

In the Bombay Public Consultations, Vol IV, the diary of Jan. 20, 1715 contains the following entry : "On the 4th Instant Ruttanjee Haig Subadar (head-officer) of the Fifth Company of Gentoo soldiers petitioning the General to lay down his Employ and to depart with his family to the Sevajee Rainah, on her Promise of preferment his request was granted". From other records of that Factory it is beyond doubt that the "Sevajee Rainah" here referred to was Tarabai (See Idem Vol. 2, Con. Nov. 8, 1705; Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol. I, PP. 37, 38 and 73). As the news of the revolution had not reached Bombay in the beginning of Jan. 1715, it must have occurred towards the end of Dec. 1714.

97) Kavyalihis Sangrah, Patre Yadi P. 457.

98) Sambhaji took Tarabai with him at the time of his third visit to Shahu which took place in Dec. 1734. See Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. II, Entry No. 30; Idem Vol. 22, Entry No. 103.

99) Tarabai's circular letter, Rajwade Vol. 8, Entry No. 169.

100) After Shahu's death Ramraja, the supposed son of Shivaji II, was proclaimed king by Tarabai and the Peshwa, Balaji Bajirao. Then followed a hot contest between these two partisans of the new king to become the practical head of the Raj. Tarabai wished to keep the reins of government in her own hand, while the Peshwa was bent upon grasping the whole political power. On Nov. 24, 1750 Tarabai confined Ramraja at the fort of Satara where he stayed for the next 13 years. A sort of civil war ensued between Tarabai and the Peshwa, and the whole kingdom was thrown in convulsion, Tarabai died on Nov. 9, 1761 (See Sardesai Riyasal Madhya Vibhag Vol. 2, Chapter 20.).

Shahu-Sambhaji Relations :

Whether Shahu had anything to do with the deposition of Shivaji II and the accession of Sambhaji II cannot be determined in the absence of some reliable evidence. In a letter which Shahu wrote to his Peshwa Balaji Vishvanath, probably about the beginning of 1715, he said, "The king of Kolhapur is about to create disturbances with the assistance of Nizam-ul-mulk (who was at that time the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan) -- The Nabab is short-sighted, and the king of Kolhapur has poor understanding. Their union will not affect us much."¹⁰¹ If this letter referred to Sambhaji's activities soon after he seized the throne, it would imply that Shahu did not favour his coming to it. Subsequent history shows that the Nizam played for a long time with Sambhaji's ambition to be the head of the whole Maratha kingdom. This king of Kolhapur, therefore, may have aspired even in 1715 to take the Nizam's help and do to Shahu what he did to Shivaji II.

Their Hostility (1718-1725) :

In any case the two cousin kings were soon engaged in hostilities towards each other, and many depredations were committed. In 1718 the Peshwa Balaji Vishvanath, the Pratinidhi Shrinivasrao, and Shahu's adopted son Fattesing Bhosale had a vigorous encounter with Sambhaji in person at Vadgao.* Shahu's men won a complete victory, and captured a large booty and some members of Sambhaji's family.¹⁰² In Nov. 1719 Balaji Vishvanath entered the province of Kolhapur and reduced some places.¹⁰³ On March 20, 1720 he had yet another successful skirmish with Sambhaji.¹⁰⁴ On May 11, 1722 Bombay, referring to a recent interview between Kanhoji Angre and Shahu, wrote to the Company that Kanhoji promised "to help him (i.e. Shahu) to take the Castle of Parnella (i.e. Panhala) now in possession of Sambojeo Rajah his Father's brother's son".¹⁰⁵ About 1724 Sambhaji approached the English gentlemen at Karwar for assistance to recover "the lands along the sea coast".¹⁰⁶

101) A fragmentary letter printed on P. 73 of Sardesai, Riyasat, Madhya Vibhag Vol. I. As it bears no date it may have been written at any time between Nov. 1713 and April 1715, when Balaji was the Peshwa and the Nizam the Viceroy of Deccan.

102) Sardesai, Riyasat Madhya Vibhag Vol. I, PP. 123-24.

* About 10m. N. Kolhapur.

103) Idem.

104) Idem.

105) Bombay Letters Received.

106) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 6 Con, Feb. 18, 1725.

Shahu's Overtures Dec. 30, 1725 :

While these hostilities were proceeding Shahu made another attempt to end this fruitless quarrel. On Dec. 30, 1725 he proposed articles of peace in which he agreed to share the Maratha kingdom with his cousin. These were seven articles out of which four defined the limits of the different parts of the territory that was to be ceded by one party to the other. The remaining articles provided that neither party should enlist the servants of the other; that the lands comprised within the Mughal dominions should be equally shared, if and when conquered by either party; and that both should fight and destroy the enemy of either, and "govern the kingdoms with one mind".¹⁰⁷ What answer Sambhaji made to this proposal is not known; but, as the two kings soon took to arms against each other, Shahu's overture must have come to nothing.

Sambhaji's Alliance with Nizam (1727-28) :

In 1727-28 Sambhaji II made his last attempt to put down Shahu. He made an alliance with Nizam-ul-mulk who, since 1724 was endeavouring to establish in the Deccan an independent kingdom of his own. On Nov. 7, 1727 Shahu sent letters to the commandants of 30 forts in his possession, ordering them to keep themselves in a posture of defence, because the united armies of the Nizam and Sambhaji were about to invade his country.¹⁰⁸ On Jan. 1, 1728, Bombay wrote to the Company. The Vizier Chieklis Cawn (i.e. the Nizam) is at present with a very large army this way near Aurangbad in Opposition to Sou Rajah's forces who he proposes to dispossess in favour of his uncle's son Sambojee Rajah who agrees to hold and govern the Country from the Mogul on easier terms than the other.¹⁰⁹

In Feb. 1728 Sambhaji and Nizam-ul-mulk, both in person, invaded the district of Poona, and, after taking one place after another entered the town of Poona itself.¹¹⁰ Here the Nizam heard that the Peshwa Bajirao was coming from the north to give him a battle. At this news he left Poona and proceeded to meet Bajirao (Feb. 22)¹¹¹. On the 25th the two

107) Parasnis, Treaties, Agreements and Sanads PP 43-44

108) Itihas Sangrah, Peshwa Daftar PP 23-24

109) Bham to Co Jan. 1, 1728 Bombay Letters Received Vol. 1A

110) Chitrap to Bajirao, Feb. 26 1728, Set Pesh. Daf. Vol. 10, Entry No. 50. Here Sambhaji's marriage with the daughter of the Rajput prince of Ramnagar was celebrated. Mem P. 42.

armies met at Palked.¹¹² What happened in the encounter and afterwards is described in a letter which Bombay wrote to the Company on Sept. 30, 1728. "When We did expect", wrote the gentlemen at Bombay, "to hear of some great blow being given from the side of the Vizier it happened otherwise, so as to prove to his disadvantage through some ill conduct in bringing his army, to be distressed for want of provisions from the flying parties of the other; which induced him to come to terms of accommodation with Bajerow (Bajirao) the Scindia's General."¹³ This accommodation was made on March, 6 1728. One of its terms was that Shahu should be at liberty to take what steps he liked against Sambhaj, and that the Nizam should not assist the latter."¹⁴

Shahu's last march against Sambhaji (1729-30) :

Shahu determined to take advantage of this dissociation between his cousin and the Nizam, by making another attempt to subdue the former. On Oct. 4, 1729 he gave marching orders to several leaders of his armies to assemble in front of Panhala against which fort he proceeded in person on the 16th.¹⁵ For the next ten months vigorous attacks were made by Shahu's men on many places belonging to Sambhaji II.¹⁶ In July 1730 Panhala itself was rigorously besieged and no Provisions were allowed to enter it.¹⁷ Sambhaji was so hard pressed on all sides that on Aug. 8 he sued for peace.¹⁸ It appears that negotiations were at once opened, but it was decided that the two princes should hold a friendly meeting and themselves settle a permanent treaty of peace.

Two Princes' historic meeting Feb. 27, 1731 :

Accordingly, on Saturday, Feb. 27, 1731 the two princes held a historic meeting near Karhad.¹⁹ Chitnis gives a vivid description of the meeting. "The princes" he writes "were seated each on an elephant,

111) Idem

112) Sardesai, Riyasal Madhya Vahag Vol. I. P. 100

113) Bombay Letters Received Vol. IA.

114) Sardesai, Riyasal Madhya Vahag Vol. I. P. 106-07

115) Shahu's Diary Entry Nos. 42, 43

116) See Idem Entry Nos. 46, 48

¹ About 110m N. E. Poona

117) Idem Entry No. 47.

118) The Articles of Peace he proposed are given in Kalyaneshwar Sanghavi, Pabre Yash Entry No. 10

119) Shahu's Diary, Entry No. 176

and following by others belonging to their nobels, they proceeded to the meeting place from opposite directions. They went along a passage that was thickly lined with men who belonged to both parties and who paid their respects as they passed. On reaching near the meeting place, they got down from their elephants and mounted each on a horse. When they approached near each other, they dismounted, and immediately Sambhaji placed his forehead on Shahu's feet. Shahu raised him up and embraced him affectionately. Flowers of gold and silver were showered on them, a chorus of musical instruments was played and several guns were fired. Shahu then took Sambhaji by hand and both seated themselves on one elephant. Then they returned to the tent which was pitched on the southern bank of the Krishna".¹²⁰

Treaty of Warna - April 13, 1731 :

The princes then went to Satara where Sambhaji stayed till April 17.¹²¹ On their arrival at the capital negotiations for a permanent settlement of the dynastic quarrel were at once opened; and on April 13, 1731 a treaty was concluded. This is known as the "Treaty of Warna" and contains substantially the same terms which Shahu proposed twice before. It comprised of nine Articles, seven of which described the extent of the territory which each was to have. Broadly speaking the river Warna was made the southern limit of Shahu's and the northern limit of Sambhaji's country. That is why the treaty bore that name. Out of the remaining two Articles, one provided that one party should not engage the servants of the other; and by the second Shahu bound himself to punish all those who would create disturbances in Sambhaji's territory.¹²²

Shahu a Friend to Sambhaji (1731-1749) :

The Treaty of Warna made a permanent division of the Maratha country into two kingdoms, one of Satara and the other of Kolhapur. Owing to the changing circumstances of the time, all the Articles of this treaty were not executed.¹²³ But Shahu adhered to the very letter of the

120) Thorle Shahu Maharaj, PP. 86-87.

121) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, Entry No. 85.

122) The Marathi version of this treaty can be seen in Parasnis Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, P. 44. It's English translation is given in a footnote on P. 181 of Aitchison's Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Vol. VII. The date is given in this translation as April, 26 which is wrong. This English version is subjoined in the appendix to this Chapter.

last provision and helped Sambhaji out of every difficulty. It is already mentioned that Shahu never had any ill feeling towards any of his relatives; and now the hostilities between him and his cousin having ended he proved a real friend to Sambhaji.

From 1731 to 1749 (the year of Shahu's death) not a single rupture occurred between Shahu and Sambhaji II. On the contrary the king of Satara was often called upon to relieve the king of Kolhapur who was frequently distressed by his enemies. One of these disturbers was Venkatrao Ghorpade of Ichalkaranji. He was the brother-in-law to the Peshwa Bajirao; and being sure of the Peshwa's support he stood against Sambhaji within whose territory his jagir lay. On one occasion Chimaji Appa, the Peshwa's brother sent some reinforcement to a partisan of Venkatrao. When Shahu came to know this he wrote to Chimaji in his own hand, "Recall the men (you have sent) at the sight of this letter. You are not ignorant of the peace which subsists between us and Sambhaji Raje. And you also know that in case you do not recall the men we shall have to take some harsh measures (against you)".¹²⁴ There is a large number of such and other orders issued by Shahu against those who created disturbances in Sambhaji's country.¹²⁵

This was not all. In June 1730 Shahu went against Udaji Chavan who was giving a great trouble to Sambhaji. The King laid siege to Udaji's fortified places and took most of them.¹²⁶ Such expeditions he undertook because, as he himself once declared, "it was highly necessary for him to do everything in the interest of King Sambhaji."¹²⁷

Progress of Kolhapur (1731-1749) :

It is not within the scope of these pages to give a detailed history of the Kingdom of Kolhapur during the last 18 years of Shahu's reign when the two princes were on perfectly peaceful terms with each other. The government of this sister kingdom was on the same basis which the great Shivaji established. But Sambhaji was not (as Shahu was) fortunate to have such eminent generals as Bajirao. Chimaji Appa,

123) See Sardesai, Madhya Vibhag, Vol. I, PP. 212-13.

124) Itihas Sangrah, Aithasik Tipane Vol. I, P. 36.

125) See Shahu's Diary Entry Nos. 176, 177, 179 and 180; Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol II, Entry Nos. 20, 21, 22, 23; Idem Vol. 26, Entry Nos. 13, 14.

126) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. II, Entry Nos. 50, 51, 52; Idem Vol. 26, Entry No. 21.

127) Idem Vol. II, Entry No. 27.

Raghoji Bhosale, Fattesting Bhosale, Malharrao Holkar, Ranoji Shinde, Babuji Naik, and many others who spread Shahu's name in every direction. Sambhaji himself was not a very energetic king. His queen, Jijabai, was "manlier" than him. In 1750 the Viceroy of Goa wrote, "His (i.e. Sambhaji's) wife who entirely dominates him is by nature so industrious and cunning and by temper so bad that in order to achieve her object she spares neither industry nor diplomacy"¹²⁸ Jijabai was well known for her bravery; she conducted campaigns and even fought battles in person.¹²⁹ She was the real head of that government.

The territory of Kolhapur reached the sea-coast on the south-west. Within it was situated the important port of Malvan.* Sambhaji had a number of vessels of his own, and through them he came in immediate contact with the Portuguese at Goa, the Dutch at Vingorla.* and the English at Karwar. To the Europeans the "Malvanars" were, like other Maratha seamen, "pirates". But from the very beginning of his reign Sambhaji appears to have been intent upon establishing trade relations with these foreign settlements and to increase the strength of his navy. Thus, so early as March 23, 1716 he entered into a treaty with the Viceroy of Goa, which among other things provided that his vessels should be protected by the Portuguese armada and that he should be at liberty to import horses from Congo and Bassara.¹³⁰ On March 2, 1736 he made a treaty of pure trade and commerce with the Dutch governor at Cochin, and agreed to build at his own cost a warehouse for the Dutch who were to settle a Factory at Malvan.¹³¹ On Dec. 3, 1739 a treaty of "firm peace and friendship" was concluded between his governor of Malvan and the English governor of Bombay. This was a navigation treaty, providing for protection of vessels belonging to both parties and sailing in each others' company.¹³²

The extension of Sambhaji's authority was mainly to the south and south west of Kolhapur. He did not venture to the north where Shahu's armies used to ravage so freely. The small states of Sunda,

128) Marquis of Alorna's Instructions to his successor. Sen, Studies in Indian History, P. 211

129) See Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 20, Entry Nos. 15, 18.

* About 208m. S. Bombay

* About 16m. S. Malvan

130) Biker, Trelados etc. Vol VI, PP. 2-4.

131) The full treaty in Marathi is given on PP. 48-49. In Kavyetihas Sangrah, Patre Yadi.

132) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol 10, PP. 500-501.

Kanra and their neighbours on the western coast were particularly subject to Sambhaji's extortions.¹³³ Similarly Sambhaji's power greatly extended both along the coast to the South and in the interior. On Oct, ³¹/₂₀, 1754 the Viceroy of Goa wrote, "The districts of Sambhaji Raja extend from the territory of Tulangi Angria¹³⁴ to the south as far as the confines of Canara and Cape Comorin and he pretends that all the territory under the Ghat's* are (sic) tributary to him, including even the Angria and Bounsula.¹³⁵ and he also supposes, I know not by what title, that the district of Goa is also tributary to him to which we have never consented or paid him any tributes... . The King of Sunda and Canara, however, pay considerable tributes to Sambhaji Raja."¹³⁶

Sambhaji died on Dec. 18, 1760.¹³⁷

133) See Idem Vol. 5, Con. March 10, 1723.

134) Tulaji Angre, son of Kanhoji Angre; the last place to the south which Tulaji then possessed was the famous fortress of Vijaydurg alias Gheris, which stands about 35 miles north of Malvan.

• The Western Ghats.

135) Bhosale of Savantwadi.

136) MSS. Portuguese Records (Translation) Conselho Ultramarinho, Vol. I, Pt. I.

137) Sardesai, Riyasat, Madhya Vibhag Vol. 2, P. 293.

The question of Sambhaji's claim to Shahu's throne when the latter died without leaving a legitimate male heir, is discussed in Chapt. VII Supra.

Appendix to Chapter 3
Partition Treaty between Shahu and Sambhaji
April 13, 1731

Article 1 :

"The following treaty drawn up between His Majesty Aba Saheb (Shahu Raja) and Sambhaji Raja, has been agreed to on the part of the latter, as hereafter specified.

Article 2 :

I agree to receive, as my share of the dominion, that part of the country lying to the southward and eastward of the Krishna river below its junction with the Warna including all the forts and posts within the said boundary, and all claims whatsoever.

Article 3 :

The whole of the country lying south of the junction of the two rivers aforesaid as far as the junction of the Tungabhadra and Krishna, including all the forts and posts within the said boundary.

Article 4 :

The whole of the tract lying south of the fort of Vijaydurg.

Article 5 :

I agree to cede the fort of Ratnagiri, and to receive the fort of Kopal in lieu thereof, and I will destroy the post of Wargam according to agreement.

Article 6 :

I agree to relinquish the posts in the districts of Mirch and Bijapur, now in my possession.

Article 7 :

I agree to receive the half of any conquests to be made between the river Tungabhadra and Rameshwar.

Article 8 :

I agree to attack any state which shall engage in war against Satara, and in like manner the Raja of Satara agrees to make war with any State attacking this house.

Article 9 :

I agree to entertain no person discarded from the service of the Raja of Satara, nor is he to entertain any person discarded by me.

The above nine Articles, being stipulated and mutually agreed on between both parties, shall in no wise be departed from in the least on my part.

Chapter 4

THE GROWTH OF THE MARATHA NAVY UNDER SHAHU'S ADMIRALS, THE ANGRES.*

The reign of Shahu Chhatrapati witnessed an extraordinary growth of the Maratha power not only on the land but also on the sea. The land-wars and conquests will be related in a subsequent chapter; here it is intended to give the history of the Maratha navy during the first half of the 18th century. The one person whose singular abilities promoted the growth of this sea-power was Kanhoji Angre. The Europeans have always looked upon him as a "pirate", But he was not a pirate. He was the "admiral" of King Shahu; the war vessels under his command were the Maratha navy; and the "piratical" actions with which he is charged were a vigorous attempt on the part of Shivaji's descendants to hold their own on the sea.

Shivaji, Founder of the Maratha Navy

Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Kingdom, was also the founder of the Maratha navy. His greatness in this respect is enhanced by the fact that, in modern times he was practically the first Indian king who realized the importance of raising a navy of his own. The absence of such a sea force in India was the primary cause of the success of the Portuguese in establishing themselves along the western coast in the first quarter of the 16th century. In their wake came the English, Dutch, French and other European merchant adventurers. All of them easily succeeded in assuming a mastery over the waves on every side of the Peninsula. The native rulers were survived to purchase their wares for their own trading vessels and not infrequently sought for their convoys. Even the mighty emperor Aurangzib had to depend on these foreigners

* This surname is generally spelt as "Angria", which is an unnecessary corruption of the correct spelling as adopted here.

for protection not only of his merchants' ships, but even of his pilgrim ships which yearly voyaged to Mecca.¹

During Shivaji's time, the Sidi of Janjira had a few war vessels. Sidi, however, was racially a foreigner, and politically a free-lance.² Till 1636 he served the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar, from 1636 to 1670 the kingdom of Bijapur, and from 1670 onwards the Mughal empire.³ Bombay wrote to the Company on Nov. 8, 1723. "The Seiddee (sidi) is indeed styled the Mughal's admiral but regards any orders from the Court on more than as they suit his Conveniency".⁴ The Sidi's small fleet, therefore, was not a national navy either of the Deccan Kings or of the Mughal emperor.

Such a navy was founded by Shivaji. Ramchandrapant Amatya, a high officer well versed in the king's policy, has obviously expressed Shivaji's own view in saying that the King should look upon the navy "as a separate but necessary limb of the state. For, conquests on land depend upon the strength of the calvary; the sovereignty of the sea on that of the navy".⁵ To what extent Shivaji intended to acquire such a sovereignties, it is not necessary to discuss. In any case he began to build a fleet of his own. His first vessel was afloat in 1659.⁶ and before he died in 1680, he possessed about 200 vessels, big and small.⁷ These were classified according to their sizes and divided into small units. At the head of each unit was a "Subha"; at the head of all, the "Sursubha". The vessels were furnished with necessary warlike material; the emoluments of their commandants fixed; and so also their duties.⁸ The sea, however, was a new element to the Marathas, and Shivaji's naval equipment did not prove so strong as to subdue even a comparatively small chief like the Sidi of Janjira.

Kanhoji's Early Life :

The navy established by Shivaji attained a singular prominence under the command of Kanhoji Angre. An unhistoric account of Kanhoji's

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- 1) See Factory Records, Surat Vol. 5, Consultation of January 5, 1696.
 - 2) More on this point in Chapt. 6
 - 3) Bom. Gaz. Vol. XI, P. 636.
 - 4) General Records Bom. Letters Received Vol. I.
 - 5) Rajniti Chapt. 9
 - 6) Sen. Military System PP. 176-177.
 - 7) Idem P. 179
 - 8) Rajniti Chapt. 9

foreign origin was first published by Clement Downing,⁹ and the story has been requested in one form or another up to the present day.¹⁰ Kanhoji's was a pure Maratha family named Shakapal, but as his ancestors were the natives of village called Angarwadi*. They came to be known as "Angre".¹¹ Kanhoji's father Tukoji entered into Shivaji's service about 1658, and rose from the captainship of 25 men to that of 200. He was also made the head officer of the sea-fort of Survarndurg.¹² As to when Tukoji died and how many children he had, it is not known. He left at least two sons. Kanhoji, who probably was the elder of the two, is said to have commanded part of the Maratha navy during Sambhaji's reign (1680-89).¹³ Kanhoji's brother - his name* is not known - was the Havaladar (head-officer) of the fort of Kolaba in 1703.¹⁴ and was afterwards the "Governor" of the fort of Cherish, where he died in 1720.¹⁵

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- 9) History of the Indian Wars. Downing is not even sure of his story. At one place he says that Kanhoji was a reputed son of one "Purah Angria", whose father was originally a Muhammedan (PP. 3-4). At another place he says that Kanhoji was born of a Portuguese convert (P. 5) He reaches the climax by adding that Kanhoji married the sister of the Sidi (P. 139). He has made some other absurd statements, but they are all of the same nature. A single fact proves that these statements are untrue; it is the high connections the Angres had with Maratha families of undoubted eminence. Thus, Downing himself says that, Kanhoji married the daughter of Sawantwadikar Bhosale, one of the oldest Maratha families in India (P. 140). In their letter to the Company of Aug. 17, 1722, Bombay wrote that Kanhoji's daughter was married to the son of Pilaji Jadhav, one of Shahu's generals (General Records, Bombay Letters Received Vol. I) The Portuguese Records mention that Kanhoji's son was married to the daughter of Khanderao Dabhade, Shahu's Senapati. (Notices da India Vol. 2, Pt. I, P. 104). Kanhoji could not have brought about these marriages by force for the obvious reason that he could not have exerted any force on such eminent persons as named above. And those who know how strict the Marathas are on the point of "Kul" (purity of the family) before they enter into matrimonial relations will at once admit that, if Kanhoji's birth and the reputation of his family had ever been in question, the Savants, the Jadhavs and the Dabhades would never have entered into the said marriages.
- 10) Bom. Gaz. Vol. XI, P. 145
- 11) Kaifiyats, Yadis etc. Angre's Kaifiyata P. 2. The Shakapals, or the corruption Sankpals, are one of the Maratha families whom the Courts of Law have recognized as Kshatriyas. See Mulla, Hindu Law P. 1, Rajwade Vol. 3, Preface.
- 12) Kaifiyats, Yadis etc. P. 2. The fort is about 80 m. S. Bombay and lies opposite to Harani. Said to have existed near Harani fort, which lies about 80 m. S. Bombay. (Kshatriya Gharanancha Itihas Vol. I, P. 98) It is quite a common practice among the natives of the country to take the name of the place they come from.
- 13) See Rajwade BVol. 3, Preface.
- * Was his name Dattaji ? On Feb. 5, 1717 the Pratinidhi, Shripatrao, has written a letter to "Dattaji Angre". See Salarcha Pratinidhi Gharanyacha Itihas Vol. 2, P. 5.
- 14) Bombay to Surat, June 21, 1703, Factory Records, Bom. No. 18.
- 15) Bombay to Company, Aug. 31, 1720. Abstract Letters Received, Bombay Vol. I.

During Rajaram's Reign :

In the last decade of the 17th century, Kanhoji's position become somewhat established, and his name known even to the Europeans. Sidhoji Gujar, who was at the head of the Maratha navy, died in 1697.¹⁶ and in the following year Kanhoji was appointed in his place by Rajaram.¹⁷ In the same year Kanhoji transferred his quarters from the fort of Suvarndurg to that of Kolaba.¹⁸ By this time he appears to have come in contact with his European neighbours, the English at Bombay, and the Portuguese at Salset and Bassein. For, on Feb. 6, 1699 his Subdear (under-officer) applied to the Deputy Governor of Bombay for leave to carry salt boats, which was granted in a manner as if Kanhoji was well known to the Deputy Governor and his council.¹⁹ On Aug. 21, 1699 Bombay wrote to the Company that the "Sevajees" were robbing "the passage boats and others" of the Portuguese, and committing depredations in their territory.²⁰

During Tarabai's Regency :

It was during Tarabai's regency (1700-1714), that Kanhoji established his power firmly. He not only became supreme at home but also succeeded in holding his own among his neighbors, the Portuguese, the English, the Dutch and the Sidi, who, upto that time, were masters of the sea.

I will first elaborate the details of his home supremacy. During the reigns of Sambhaji and Rajaram, the Maratha navy was much disorganized, and the various commandants of the sea forts acted independently of their superior. Prominent among the "Sevajee pirates"

16) Riyasat, Purvardha P. 638.

17) Marathi MSS. India Office Library.

It is generally believed that Kanhoji was made Sarkehl or admiral by Rajaram. (See Riyasat, Purvardha P. 368). But in Kavyetihās Sangrah, Patre Yadi Vagaire (No. II) is printed Kanhoji's seal, which, apparently was cast during Rajaram's reign. In this seal he describes himself merely as a loyal servant of that King. It will be seen presently that, in his other seal which he used after he submitted to Shahu, he styled himself as the "Admiral" (Sarkel) of Shahu.

18) Rajwade Vol. 21, Entry No. 41.

19) Bom. Con. Feb. 8, 1699. Factory Record, Bombay Vol. 5.

20) Factory Records, Bombay Vol. 17.

Kanhoji, in his early career, was mentioned by the English under general denominations, such as "Sevajee" or "Moralla". See Bombay to Surat, March 11, 1703. (Factory Records, Bombay Vol. 18); Bombay General to Company, Dec. 1, 1702. (F. R. Bombay Vol. 17)

mentioned about this time (1700) are those of Khanderi,²¹ Kolaba²² and Padamdurg.²³ In fact these were the only places which Aurangzib had failed to conquer. On Dec. 1689 Bombay wrote to the Company. "All the Country about us that was the Raja's (i.e. Rajaram's), is the Mogulls now, there only stands out for the Raja, near us the Little Island of Cundry (i.e. Khanderi), a Castle to the North ward of Choule near the seaside called Coloboy (i.e. Kolaba) and another Castle on the main called Paddnagroo (i.e. Padamdurg) to the southward of Choule insight of the Island Danda Rajapore".²⁴ These three forts, as the preceding footnotes show, continued to be in the possession of the Marathas until at least 1700. The first two remained in their hands during the whole of Shahu's reign; the third (Padamdurg) was taken by the Sidi some time in the beginning of the 18th century.

In Sept. 1707 the Marathas had among themselves "sixty Galvetta* and Grabbs* between (Bombay) and Goa."²⁵ Kanhoji realized the folly of such divisions among themselves, and started to subdue the other. As he succeeded in his attempt, those who were aggrieved by his acts and deprived of their places, sought Tarabai's protection. The queen at first tried to control him, and afterwards "gave orders for taking of him (all the forts) for disobeying her commands (Jan.1703)".²⁶ Two persons were actually sent to execute the Queen's orders, and the English at Bombay tried to take advantage of the troubled times to overthrow Kanhoji.²⁷ But the latter came out triumphant and captured most of the sea forts under Maratha command. The most notable capture was that of Kanheri, which Island he took on April 24,1710. On the 25th Bombay wrote to the Company, "The island Canry was yesterday taken by Angra ... by which accession (accession) he will be very formidable to Bombay

21) Bom. Gen. to Company, Jan. 6, 1700. F. R. Bombay Vol. 17. Khanderi is a small Island near the entrance of the Bombay harbour. Lat. 18°, 42'.8"; Long. 72°, 41'. 17". Bom. Gaz. Vol. XI, P. 324.

22) Bom. Gen. to Co. July 28, 1702. F. R. Bombay Vol. 17. Kolaba, then one of the most famous sea forts is now a rocky Island. It lies to the south west of Alibag, which is 19m. S. Bombay. Bom. Gaz. Vol. XI, PP. 260, 253.

23) Bom. Con. Jan. 19, 1699. F. R. Bombay Vol. 5. Padamdurg, also called Kansa, stands about 2m. N. W. Janjira. Bom. Gaz. Vol. XI, P> 466.

24) O. C. 5691.

25) Bom. Pub. Con. Range 341, Vol. 2.

* War- vessels. For description of these, Vide Infra.

26) Bombay to Sural, Jan. 12, 1703. F. R. Bombay Vol. 17.

27) Idem, Dec. 23, 1702.

in a short time".²⁸ Seeing that Kanhoji's power was on the increase, and being then herself surrounded by hostile armies of King Shahu, Tarabai thought it wise to secure him on her side. Bombay wrote to the Company on Jan. 14, 1712. "Conajee Angra has been visited by his Queen to whom he has made large presents, and she has committed to his charge now seven castles, and the pirates (i.e. other "sevajees") except the Malwarmers*, between this place (i.e. Bombay) and Goa have submitted to him, he has now 6 shout Groabs and 50 Galvets".²⁹

Kanhoji Opposes Shahu :

It was before 1712 that Kanhoji had joined Tarabai's party. In 1708, when Shahu was pressing his sieges against the queen's forts, Angre was helping the latter.³⁰ Shahu made early attempts to cut this help by subduing Kanhoji. Grose says that, when Kanhoji "revolted" against Shahu, the latter "endeavoured to reduce him to obedience by building three forts upon the mainland, within point-blank shot of Suvarndarg, but Conajee also took those forts."³¹ Both Cambride³² and Orme ³³ corroborate the same in its entirety. Among the partisans of Tarabai, Kanhoji was the strongest. The queen therefore bestowed new honors on him and included him to attack Shahu's dominions. On Jan.31, 1713 Bombay wrote to the Company. "Conajee Angra is grown rich and strong; the Sevajee Queen favoring him and giving his serval forts to the seaward."³⁴ Again on Nov. 10 they wrote, that Kanhoji had then been "up the country taking fortified places."³⁵ These latter places were the forts of Tikkona, Ghangad, Lohagad.³⁶ The king thereupon sent his Peshwa, Bahiropant Pingale, against Kanhoji. The latter not only defeated but also captured the Peshwa, and threatened to invade even Satara³⁷ (1713). Shahu hurriedly appointed Balaji Vishvanath to Bahiraopant's post (Nov. IV) and despatched him with an army of about 3000-4000 men.³⁸ For

28) Gen. Records, Bombay Letters Received Vol. I.

29) Idem.

* That is to say, those at Malwan which is about 208 m. S Bombay and about 48m. N. Goa.

30) Vide Infra.

31) Travels Vol. 2, P. 212.

32) Wr In India, P. 92.

33) Military Transactions Vol. I, PP. 407-08.

34) General Records, Abstract letters received Bombay Vol. I.

35) Idem.

36) Marathi MSS. India Office library No. 2918, P. etc. P. 10

37) Idem.

38) Idem P. 11.

some time Balaji carried on the war,³⁹ but soon found it more advantageous to open negotiations of peace. It is creditable to both the parties that this internal quarrel was ended without further hostilities. Kanhoji perhaps saw that Tarabai's cause was by now almost lost, while Shahu's power was in the ascendant. He showed readiness to enter into Shahu's service and a treaty was drawn accordingly.

"Treaty of Lohagad" Feb. 8, 1714 :

The treaty was made on Feb. 8, 1714,⁴⁰ and it can be called "the Treaty of Lohagad".⁴¹ As its clauses shed light on the previous actions of both parties and reveal their subsequent position, almost all of them are translated here. These may be arranged as follows :-

- 1) Kanhoji solemnly affirmed 'I have not been disloyal to King Shahu up to now, nor shall I be hereafter'.
- 2) If Kanhoji took by assault or stratagem any Mughal forts above the Ghats, he should deliver them to Shahu. If Shahu took any below the Ghats, he should give them to Kanhoji.
- 3) The Peshwa should release the families and restore their goods, cattle etc. which he had captured at a village called Kothali.
- 4) The Peshwa should undertake a campaign in the Konkan every year, during October to December, to root out the enemies such as the Sidi and the Portuguese.
- 5) Shahu should grant Kanhoji 5 villages in Rajamachi district, 3½ in Junner, and Rs. 2 per Candy revenue of certain other villages.
- 6) The Peshwa should continue possession of his own villages, 2 in Panvel district and 2 in Chiplun.

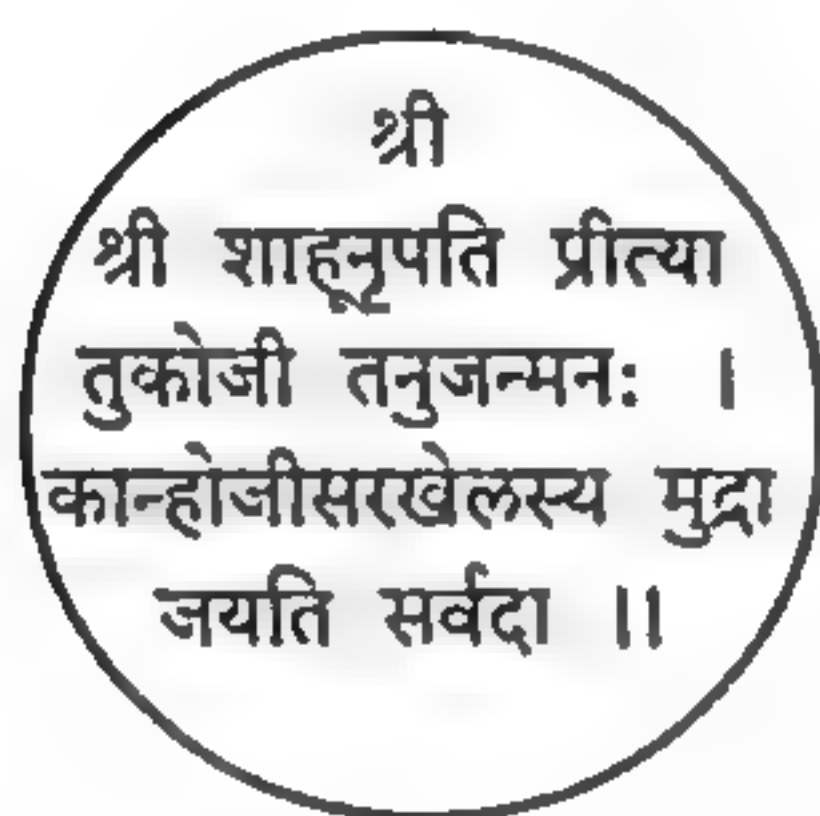
39) He made captures of some families, their cattle and other belongings at one of Angre's villages, which he released after peace was made between the two parties. See the treaty of peace post.

40) Parasnis, *Treaties, Agreements and Sanads*, PP. 197- 99.

41) Lohagad lies about 32m. N. W. Satara. It was at this fort that Kanhoji captured Bahiropani, and where the treaty was also made. Moreover, the war with Kanhoji is in a contemporary official paper referred to as "The event of Lohagad". See *Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 7, No. 22* which bears the date of Dec. 8, 1714.

- 7) Neither party should employ the servants of the other.
- 8) Kanhoji should have the forts of Rajamachi, Shrivardhan, Manaranjangad, Mrigagad, Kolthala and Trimbak with all the provisions with which they are furnished. Shahu should have the forts of Lohagad, Tung, Tikon, Korgad, Chanagad and Patta in the same condition.
- 9) If Kanhoji ever captured Raigad,* he should give it to Shahu.

Importance of the Treaty :



The treaty was of great importance. Firstly, though it is not mentioned in the treaty, Kanhoji was made Shahu's "admiral". In Nov. 1714 he went to Satara to affirm his loyalty to the King, who was much pleased to see him and gave him, among other things, "robes of honour and medals".⁴² These, obviously, were the emblems by which Shahu conferred on Kanhoji the high post of Sarkhel or admiral. Thenceforth the latter used the

accompanying seal ⁴³ on his official writings. It can be translated thus. "The seal of Tukoji, has been always victorious on account of the favour of King Shahu," In this way Kanhoji's position along the western coast and on the sea acquired a perfectly legal character, as he now became the supreme naval officer of the well established king of the country.

Secondly, the treaty gave Kanhoji the supremacy not only on the sea but in the adjoining land along the coast and "below the Ghats". He was allowed to hold all the important forts in it, and was thus given the opportunity to increase his possessions. He was not slow in taking advantage of the same and extended his dominion further along the coast and in the interior. Mr. Grose affirms that his possessions consisted of several islands near Bombay, and an extent of land along the neighbouring continent of about 180 miles in length, and from 30 to 60 in breadth with several forts ...".⁴⁴

* This was the capital of the Marathas until it fell in Aurangzeb's hands in 1689.

42) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 7, No. 21.

43) A print of this seal is produced in Idem Vol. 8, No. 55.

44) Travels Vol. 2, P. 211.

Finally, (and this is most important) the treaty forged a link between the sea and land policies of the Marathas. The Peshwa was to undertake yearly expeditions into the Kokan to "root out enemies such as the Sidi and the Portuguese". This clause, obviously, was inserted on Kanhoji's suggestion but the Peshwa did not act up to it. It was very important, because it provided a recurring occasion for a joint action of the land and sea forces of the Marathas to subdue the Western coast and become masters of the sea. The campaigns of Shahu against the Sidi, and those of the Peshwa against the Portuguese in the later years, can be dated back to their origin in this treaty. These subsequent events showed what uncommon foresight Kanhoji possessed.

Before relating Angre's post-treaty career, it is necessary to mention the rights he claimed as pertaining to the sovereignty, which, he maintained, his master had on the sea; his early conflicts with the native and European neighbours; his naval equipments; his trading activities and others connecting matters.

Sovereignty Over the Sea :

It is a strange fact that, in those days, the European traders claimed the freedom of the seas for themselves but denied the same to the natives. They even arrogated to themselves the rights of sovereignty over the waves on all sides of India, and compelled the native traders and rulers to buy their passports as a security against their own molestation. The passport given by the government was not recognized to go to honour each other's grants. The buyer was obliged to go to the strongest among them or to buy from more than one. And what is most surprising is that, if any country power claimed to exercise the same rights in its own seas it was dubbed as a "pirate".

English Practices:

During Shahu's reign the English and the Portuguese, more than any other Europeans, came in contact and had conflicts with the Marathas along the Western coast. So it is necessary to give some details of their practices. Both claimed the power to issue passports. Indeed, Sir Nicholas Waile, on his coming to India as the Governor of the New Company, asserted that he was "empowered by his Majesty to grant

passports to the subjects of the Mogul and other princes of India."⁴⁵ If any natives omitted to take the passport they ran great risks. Bombay wrote to Callicut on Sept. 16, 1699. "We would have to threaten the country people if they do not come to you and take your passes that you will write to the Comodore to take their boats."⁴⁶ And a boat without a pass was always seized, if it could be seemed. Thus for instance, on Sept. 17, 1703 a Malabar vessel coming from Aden touched at Bombay. Kanhoji claimed it as his own; but the government of the island took it declaring that, as it had no pass "it became a free Prize to any" who seized it.⁴⁷ There are plenty other cases of such seizures.

Portuguese Practices. :

The Portuguese followed the same practices. A case which occurred in 1747 furnishes a good instance. In May 1749 an Armenian merchant of Bengal sent a memorial to the Court of Directors "setting forth that his ship called the Jupha on putting into the port of Callicut was seized on the 16th February 1747 and afterwards condemned at Goa as lawful Prize by the Portuguese for not being furnished with their pass although he had an English one which they disallow of for the navigation of the Indian Seas, therefore praying the Courts will be pleased to make an application to his Portuguese Majesty that he may have the value of his ship and cargo being 160,000 Rupees made good to him ..."⁴⁸ On May 10, 1749 the Court petitioned the King of Portugal praying, among other things, for the confirmation of their rights "to a Free and Uninterrupted Trade and Navigation in the Indian Seas."⁴⁹ In Feb. 1751 the Secretary of State to his Portuguese Majesty informed the Court that the tribunal at Lisbon, to which the Armenian merchant had appealed, "confirmed the sentence passed formerly at Goa for the condemnation of his ship the Jupha and her Cargo."⁵⁰ The merchant died of broken heart.

Kanhoji's Claims. :

Kanhoji claimed exactly the same rights as the Europeans

45) Bombay to Sir Nicholas Walto, Jan. 15, 1700.

46) Bombay to Callicut, Idem.

47) Bombay to Surat, Oct. 13, 1703, Idem Vol 18.

48) General Records, Correspondence Memoranda Vol. 12.

49) Idem.

50) Idem.

exercised - the right to free navigation of his own vessels, and the right to issue passports to those of others coming within his jurisdiction. So early as 1704, when the Company's servants at Bombay complained that he was taking their boats and threatened that they would retaliate, he retorted "it was known (i.e. Marathas) held out War (war) with the Mugal forty years; lived now by Sword and would seize what boats or other vessels from any Ports on Malabar, expecting such as had Conjee Angra's Passports, the English being at liberty acting as they please."⁵¹

Kanhoji was not an "upstart" as the Court of Directors called him.⁵² He was the duly appointed servant of a native power which had held its own for over "forty years" on land and on sea. The government of the "rebel" Shivaji being now well established was as "Lawful" as that of the Mughals. The claims of Shivaji's successors to "the sovereignty of the sea", as far as they could effectively exert such claims, cannot be described as "piratical" pretensions. Kanhoji sternly refused the charge of piracy. Mr. Grose observes that, whenever the English "expostulated with him on his piratical procedure ... he made no further answer than that, disclaiming the title of pirate, he assumed that of admiral to the Mar-rajah (Maharaja, Shahu) to whom he insisted that the sovereignty of those seas belonged, and that he was determined to maintain it against all such as would refuse to acknowledge or not to take his passes — these were terms that English Government could not stoop."⁵³ The Dutch governor at Cochin wrote in April 1781, "They (i.e. Marathas) give appearance of right to their piracy by pretending to command the sea along this side of the peninsula, or to speak more precisely, by pretending that all those who wish to pass there must come to an agreement with them about it, or take passes from them for a certain payment; in default they seize the vessels if they can as being forfeited."⁵⁴ The charge of "pretension" levelled against the Marathas is hollow; every European sea-power on the Indian seas made those "pretensions and here it is to be noted that the Marathas did not seize a vessel unless the person or Power affected was "in default", that is to say, did not purchase their passes or make a trading agreement. This was recognized practice of the day, and what the Marathas did was in the exercise of sovereign rights they possessed on their own coast.

51) Kanhoji's letters. Bom. Pub. Con. Range 341, Vol. 2. Con. Dec. 2, 1704

52) See their Instructions to Mr. Boone, April 5, 1715. Letter Book Vol. 15, P. 582.

53) Travels Vol. I, P. 94

54) Fort St. George Records; The Dutch in Malabar P. 169; (underlining mine).

Kanhoji Not a Pirate. :

It is thus clear that Kanhoji was not a pirate. He did not rob and plunder on the sea. He took only those vessels that refused to buy his passports or make trade agreements with him. At this very time there were some Europeans (citizens of most of the prominent European countries) who were pirates in every sense of the word, and who were greatly infesting the Indian seas. They took all that they could seize. Fort William wrote to the Company on Dec. 24, 1707. "The Mallabar Pyraates take English ships (without their) passes; the Europe Pyrates take all ships they meet with."⁵⁵ Moreover, even in legal terms Kanhoji's seizures were not of a piratical nature, for, he did not make prizes on his own account; he made them in the name of his King (Shahu), who shared the acquisition. Thus, for instance, when Kanhoji took a ship in 1728. on Sept. 17 Shahu ordered him to transmit "the king's share", the details of which were specified.⁵⁶

Pass Money. :

The prevailing practice of those days was to raise pass money according to the burden of the vessel. Kanhoji charged one rupee per candy which amounted to four rupees per ton.⁵⁷

Kanhoji's early captures. :

Both native and European neighbours of Kanhoji opposed him, from the very beginning, in the exercise of the rights he claimed. This generally led to mutual conflicts, and Kanhoji captured merchantmen who did not possess his passport, or who did not belong to such government as were in amity with him.⁵⁸ To mention a few of his early captures, in Dec. 1702 he took a boat which belonged to the Chief of the English Factory at Callicut, and which had on board one Frenchman,

55) General Records, Coast and Bay Abstract. Letters received Vol. I, P. 144. Kanhoji is here described as a "Malabar Pirate". The government of Bengal having recognised the essential differences between the acts of Kanhoji and those of "Europe pirates", it is unfair that they should call the former a "pirate".

56) Shahu to Kanhoji, Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 40, Entry No. 60 B.

57) Cos General to Bombay Nov. 4 1719, Letter Book Vol. 17, P. 21.

58) It is noteworthy that Kanhoji did not seize his friends boats. Thus in Feb. 1718 when he was on friendly terms with the English, he wrote to the governor of Bombay that "the ships belonging to Bombay, Bengal or Madrass shall not be molested by him". Bom. Pub. Con. Feb. 8, 1718, Range 341, Vol. 4.

three Portuguese and six Englishmen;⁵⁹ in March 1703 a Dutch vessel of 14 guns and 16 Europeans, having good store of ammunition, mortars, shell and small arms, some lead, tin, copper of each sort";⁶⁰ in May a large vessel of the Sidi carrying ammunition for the Mughal emperor;⁶¹ in September another Mughal vessel and 4 boats of Bombay;⁶² about December 5 "grabs"* of Mahim bound for Daman,⁶³ and 3 others laden with grain and bound for Bombay;⁶⁴ in Jan. 1704 "8 or 10 considerable prizes";⁶⁵ and in March a Malabar vessel coming from Surat.⁶⁶

Sir John Gayer wrote from Surat to the Company on March 1. 1707 about "the growth of the Sevajee Canajee Angre, their ill near neighbour." "He has lately taken" wrote the General "a ship belonging to Mr. Mildmay and your Honour's Broker at Carwar, a ship of Mr. Bowohers' of about 200 tons, her cargo amounting to about 70,000 rupees, the Diamond of Madras carrying 12 Guns and 26 Europeans her Cargo worth near 2 Lakhs of rupees, one of the Island (Bombay) Honchooas,* another ship of about 200 tons to whom belonging I didn't yet hear, and a Dutch heigh manned with about 26 Dutchmen, besides sundry other small vessels."⁶⁷ On Jan. 29, 1708 Sir Nicholas Waite. Governor of Bombay, intimated to Shahu that Kanhoji had "robbed" Bombay alone of over Rs. 300,000.⁶⁸ The losses of other "victims" were equally large, and before the first decade of the 18th century was over Kanhoji's position grew very strong. On May 1, 1711 Bombay wrote to the Company "Conajee Angra takes all small ships between Surat and Dabull that have not his pass;"⁶⁹ on Jan. 14, 1712 they wrote that even the merchants of Surat were regularly taking his passports;⁷⁰ and on Jan. 31, 1713 they asserted that he could "attack any single Europe ship," and that he had recently chased the

59) Bombay to Surat, Dec. 23, 1702. F. R. Bombay Vol 17.

60) Bombay to Surat, March 11, 1703. F. R. Bombay Vol. 18.

61) Idem, May 20, 1703.

62) Idem, Sept. 10, 1703.

63) Idem, Dec. 3, 1703.

64) Idem, Jan. 5, 1704

65) Idem, Jan. 15, 1704

66) Idem, March 28, 1704

67) Surat to Co. March 1, 1707, F. R. Surat Vol. 101.

68) Bom. Pub. Con. Jan. 27, 1708, Range 341, Vol. 3

* A war ship for description see Chapt. 5, Infra.

69) General Records; Abstract Letters Received, Bombay. From Surat to Dabhol is the sea-front of about 225 miles in length.

70) Idem.

Sommers and Crathem, two such ships near Bombay,⁷¹ In almost every subsequent letter, the Settlement advised the Company of the increasing growth of Kanhoji's power.

Fleet and War Methods. :

What is more important about these captures is that there was hardly any loss on Kanhoji's part. Most of them were made after hard fighting and it was to his credit that, even in his early career, he seldom lost a battle. This success was due not only to his personal qualities of courage and enterprise, but to the strength of his war vessels and the efficacy of his war methods. These latter are described in detail in the last chapter.

Kanhoji a Trader :

Here it may as well be mentioned that war was not Kanhoji's main interest, nor was he a "savage monster" as the Court of Directors once called him.⁷³ He was as much "civilized" as his contemporaries, and practised and patronized arts of peace. Prominent among these was trading which was the chief interest of the Europeans themselves. On May 25, 1724 Mr. Phipps, the Governor of Bombay wrote him. "A State improving and flourishing through trade never decays. Had your Honour in beginning of your rise in the world ... cultivated in your territories a Correspondence that is peculiarly necessary for merchants and employed that power Providence has by degrees blessed you with to protect trade ... the territories your Honour now governs might by this time have been equal in some measure to vie with the great Part of Surat."⁷⁴ To this, Kanhoji replied on July 23. "I have never been wanting in favouring the merchants trading according to the Law of this country, nor of chastising those of Transgressing the same as your Excellency well knows."⁷⁵ The European traders, who were having an easy time under the new effeminate rule of the Mughal emperor, found it hard to obey the "Laws" of a self-asserting government like that of the Marathas.

71) Idem.

72) See, for example, Bombay to Surat, May 20, 1703; F. R. Bombay Vol. 18.

73) Co. to Bom. 26 April 1721, Letter Book Vol. 17, P. 624

74) Bom. Pub. Con. May 25, 1724. Range 341, Vol. 5

75) Idem.

Kanhoji did not "want to favour merchants" and he himself was a trader. His merchantmen visited not only almost all the important parts of India, but, as the Bombay Public Consultations themselves mention, they went to such foreign countries as Aden.⁷⁶ Persia⁷⁷ and Arabia.⁷⁸

Kanhoji's High Position :

Kanhoji's official status as Shahu's Sarkhel (or admiral) was very high. In a judicial proceeding of Oct. 6, 1718 at the King's court at Satara, the name of Kanhoji, who on that date was in the capital and acted as one of the judges, is mentioned along with the Pratinidhi, the Peshwa and other councillors of the State.⁷⁹ These officers were also known as Sarkarkuns, that is to say, the highest dignitaries of the State, and the admiral was one of them.⁸⁰

Like other such officers, Kanhoji held the country under his control as his Saranjam.⁸¹ For this privilege he had to pay into the King's treasury every year Rs. 6000 in cash, and piece goods worth the same amount.⁸² Among other things with which he used to supply Shahu were European goods⁸³ and ammunition⁸⁴ Kanhoji, like other Saranjam-holders, was never regular in his remittances, and these failures sometimes produced tension between the king and his servant.⁸⁵ Nevertheless it appears that Kanhoji proved a very loyal servant, because after his death the king

76) Bom. Pub. Con. Sept. 18, 1703, F. R. Bombay Vol. 5. A Vessel under "Savajee colours" came from Aden and entered Bombay harbour on Sept. 17. The Government of the Island were at first assured that it belonged to Kanhoji (who soon claimed it as his own.) but later on they thought that it belonged to some other persons. Kanhoji, however, carried it away from under the stern of a Europe ship which was protecting it. See Bombay to Surat, Jan. 11, 1704. F. R. Bombay Vol. 18.

77) Bom. Pub. Con. Range 341, Vol. 4, P. 80, sqq.

78) Idem Vol. 6, Con. Sept. 9, 1726.

79) See Watanpatre, Niwadpatre Vagalre PP. 74-75

80) Rajvyavahar Kosh, a glossary of official terms compiled during Shivaji's reign and by his command, mentions Sarkhel after the Ashta - Pradhans under the first group of names called Rajvarg or "the King and others". This shows what place the navy occupied in the Maratha administration from its very beginning, and what honour was given its head.

81) For the description of the Saranjam system see Chapter 8, infra.

82) Shahu Rojanisi No. 136.

83) See Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 8, Entry No. 51-52. For description of such goods sent to Shahu see Chapter No. 7, infra.

84) For particulars of the ammunition Kanhoji used to send, see Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 17, Entry No. 6.

85) See Shahu's Diary, Entry Nos. 136, 137, 138.

Thus in 1726, when the king pressed Kanhoji to remit the arrears immediately, the latter

said, "he served us faithfully, obeyed our commands and won our favour."⁸⁶

Kanhoji's Many Enemies :

The history of the Maratha navy after Kanhoji's appointment to the post of admiral is mostly the history of wars with his neighbouring powers. These latter were the four native states of Danda-Rajapur, Sonda, Savantvadi and Kolhapur, and four European settlements viz., the French, the Dutch, the Portuguese and the English. Most important among these events were Kanhoji's splendid victories over the single and combined forces of the Portuguese and the English; but before describing these memorable events, a brief mention may be made of his encounters with the other neighbours.

Relations With The Sidi :

The chapter 6 tells the story of the Sidis' heroic defence of their island fortress. Janjira, from successive Maratha invasions. Kanhoji's relations with Janjira, his immediate neighbour, were always hostile. The treaty of submission which he made with King Shahu on Feb. 8, 1714, expressly included a clause to effect that "the Peshwa should undertake a campaign in the Konkan every year, during October to December, to root out the enemies such as the Sidi and the Portuguese."⁸⁷ Soon after the execution of this treaty hostilities broke out between him and the Sidi. Referring to them Bombay wrote to the Company "He (i.e. Kanhoji) grows so strong as to fight and worst the Sciddee."⁸⁸ In the end the Peshwa, Balaji Vishvanath, intervened, and a treaty of peace was made on Jan. 30, 1715.⁸⁹ By this treaty the Sidi assigned 1/3 of the revenues of certain districts in his possession to King Shahu.⁹⁰

replied, "The Sidi and other enemies are very troublesome. The king has sent no army to uproot them. The king should better give my post to somebody else and relieve me of the attendant worries." But Shahu also was a tactician. He wrote back, "The king has found in you a loyal servant capable of defending his dominions. He has full confidence in you. He will soon send an army (for your protection) — but you should send the arrears at sight of this letter." Idem, No. 138. On March 25, 1725 Bombay wrote to the company that "Sow Rajah" was troublesome" to Kanhoji. Abstract Letters Received, Bombay Vol. 1A, P. 13.

86) Shahu's Diary Entry No. 141.

87) Vide Supra.

88) Bom. to Co. Oct. 11, 1715. Abstracts of Letters Received, Bombay Vol. I.

89) Rajwade Vol. 2, P. 24.

Though the peace lasted for some time, fresh dissensions arose too many times to mention them all. Bombay wrote to the Company on Nov. 27, 1724. "For this month past the Sciddee and he (i.e. Angre) have made an outward show of quarrelling, and men on the occasion have been destroyed on both sides, but as the like has several times before, it is likely may end after the same manner."⁹¹ The Company's servants at Bombay thought that the disputes between Kanhoji and the Sidi were "outward" only; but as they add that men were "destroyed on both sides", neither party would have played such a destructive game for its own sake. The root of the trouble was the endless enmity between the two.

In these 'quarrels' Kanhoji was usually victorious. Behind his victories was Shahu's full support but for which his enemy might have overwhelmed him. "The Sciddee, the Mogul's admiral," wrote the Court of Directors to Bombay on March 22, 1723, "could easily overpower Angria and take his country from him, were it not that the Sou (Shahu) Rajah supports him."⁹² The Governor and Council at Bombay, in their reply of Nov. 8, entirely agreed with the Court's opinion.⁹³ But neither the Court nor their servants seem to have really understood the nature of the relations that existed between Kanhoji and Shahu Raja. It was an old practice of the English to describe Angre as "a Savajee (Shivaji) Pyrate independent on the Raja."⁹⁴ Though afterwards they came to know that Shahu was Kanhoji's master,⁹⁵ still they were surprised at the help the king gave to his own servant.

Attacks On Sunda :

The lands of the king of Sunda lay next to those of the Sidi. This unfortunate prince was, as Karwar wrote to the Company on Dec. 17, 1717 "oppressed by his Neighbours ever since the year 1691;"⁹⁶ and since 1706, when Aurangzib's forces captured some of his strongholds, he was a "tributory to the Mogul".⁹⁷ Apart from the invasions by the Maratha

90) Idem

91) Bombay Letters Received Vol. I.

92) Letter Book, Vol. 18, P. 527

93) Bombay Letters Received Vol. I.

94) See Bom. Pub. Con. Range 341, Vol. 2; Con. Nov. 24, 1704.

95) In their General Letter of Aug. 25, 1725 Bombay informed the Company, as they had done many times before, "Angri has since, on being sent for, gone to pay his obedience to Sou. Rajah at Settorah (Salara) where he keeps his Court". Bombay Letters Received, Vol. I.

96) Abstract Letters Received, Bombay Vol. I

armies by land.⁹⁹ Sonda was a subject also to Angre's attacks by the sea. The Subordinate Factory at Karwar, then a well known port in Sonda territory wrote about Dec. 13, 1711 to their president at Bombay that Kanhoji intended "to make a descent on the Sundah Raja's country".⁹⁹ Furthermore on Jan. 29, 1723 Bombay informed the Company "Angria had prepared sevrul thousand men ready on his four Grabs* and forty Gallivata* and sent them against Carwarr (Karwar) Facatory. Wee wrote to the Chief and Factors there to alarm the Rajah that his design was against Peer Hill * and to persuade him to preserve it to deliver it up to us which they wrote they will make the best use of".¹⁰⁰

The king of Sunda, as will be related at another place, saved his kingdom from being totally destroyed by the Maratha arms, by submitting to Shahu and agreeing to pay a yearly tribute of 5000 hon.¹⁰¹

War With Savantwadi :

The chief, Savant alias Bhosale, of Savantwadi was the next neighbour whose possessions were more in the interior than along the coast. The Bombay Public Consultation held on April 17, 1770 briefly described his position thus, "(He) possessed an extent of land from Malwan* to Goa * wherein there are sundry fortresses; ... he can bring into the field ten thousand fighting men, and can put to sea four Grabs and ten Gallivats ... he is no trader but a Cickroon (? Pickroon) and has it therefore in his power to do us more damage than we can possibly retaliate upon him".¹⁰²

Between his land and that of Kanhoji flowed a river,¹⁰³ and this nearness was apparantly the main cause of frequent raids made by one into the other's territory. Many battles were fought between the two; the one fought in 1722 furnishes a good instance of their nature. Early in January of that year Kanhoji had gone to Satara to pay his homage to

97) Idem; Bom. Pub. Con. Range 341, Vol. 2, Con. April 23, 1706.

98) For description of these Vide Infra.

99) Abstract Letters Received, Bombay Vol. I.

100) Bombay Letters Received Vol. I

101) Shahu's Diary Entry No. 200. 1 hon=3-4 rupees.

102) Bom. Pub. Con. Range 341, Vol. 7, P. 48.

103) MSS. Portuguese Records, Noticias da India; Translations Vol. 2, Pt. I, P. 154.

* War vessels

* A strategic place in the King's possession, and near Karwar.

Shahu.¹⁰⁴ The chief, Khemsavant, took advantage to invade his territory with 3,000 men and 200 horse;¹⁰⁵ he ravaged and plundered the country within six miles of Vijayadurg, Angre's second capital, and killed many of his men.¹⁰⁶ On hearing this news, Kanhoji "hastened to the spot ... and meeting on the banks of a river which divides the lands of the two petty kings, they fought with great valour on both sides until they were separated by the night which favoured the return of the Bonsulo's (Bhosale's) troops who crossed the river and hearing this the former reinforced his army with a large number of lascareens.* An infinite quantity of blood was shed on both sides but the glory of victory remained with Angria".¹⁰⁷

Khemsavant received succour from the Portuguese, Kanhoji from Shahu.¹⁰⁸ Another battle was fought in which the latter defeated the former, who then submitted to Shahu and implored for peace.¹⁰⁹ A treaty of peace and amity was concluded by Shahu's command on Feb. 19, 1724. By this treaty the two parties agreed to desist in future from making incurrence into each other's lands and to share equally the revenues of certain districts.¹¹⁰ Though the hostilities were thus ended for the being, they broke out again in later years.¹¹¹

Displeasure Of Kolhapur :

The development of the relations between Shahu and his cousin, Sambhaji of Kolhapur, is noticed elsewhere.¹¹² During the early conflicts between the two kings, Sambhaji attempted to punish Kanhoji for deserting Kolhapur and submitting to Satara in Feb. 1714. On March 12, 1716 Sambhaji entered into an alliance with the Portuguese.¹¹³ The first clause of the alliance was as follows: "Sambhaji Raja (Sambhaji Raja) will wage by land by sea (all possible) war against the Angria to take

+ Both on the Western Coast of India; the distance between the two is about 50 miles.

104) Abstract Letters Received, Bombay Vol. I

105) MSS. Portuguese Records, Noticias da India, Vol. 2, Pt. 1, P. 154.

106) Bom. to Co. March 23, 1722, Bombay Letters Received Vol. I

107) MSS. Portuguese Records; Noticias da India Vol. 2, Pt. 1, PP 154-155.

108) Idem P. 162

109) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30 \, Entry No. 351.

* Sailors.

110) Idem

111) See the treaty between the English and the Chief of Savantwadi made on Jan. 12, 1730 for the destruction of the Angres. Bom. Pub. Con. Range 341, Vol. 7; Con. of April 17, 1730. See also MSS. Portuguese Records, Conselho Ultramarinho Vol. 1, Pt. 1; Viceroy of Goa's letter to his king, Oct. 31, 1754.

from him all the fortresses he holds as a rebel chief in the coast of the North, particularly the fortress of Griem (Gheria or Vijayadurg) which belong to the said Sambhaji, and for effecting this object the (Portuguese) State will assist him with Men-of-War." The results of this proposed expedition are not known; apparently it came to nothing.¹¹⁴

On March 18, 1723 the Governor and Council at Bombay advised their Honourable Masters that the "Malwaners who were Sambhaji's subjects solicited their "Friendship"¹¹⁵. This might have been another attempt of the king in the same direction; and, as nothing was heard of it, it also must have proved fruitless.

It appears that the Treaty ¹¹⁶ of Warna made in April 1731 between Shahu and Sambhaji pacified the latter's ill-feeling against the house of Angre, for in a letter of Oct. 31, 1738, which was written by his order to the Governor of Bombay, the king of Kolhapur intimated to the Governor that Sambhaji Angre (Kanhoji's son) "was servant of his State."¹¹⁷

Contests With The Europeans :

It was in the contests with the European sea-powers that the strength of the Maratha navy was revealed. The fleets, as well as the merchantmen of the four European nations already mentioned, felt the weight of this native war-marine for over half a century (1700-1755). Successive and strenuous attempts were made by these foreigners, severally and jointly, to destroy the Angres, their common enemy; but the Maratha vessels not only withstood the attacks by their superior naval forces, but also won creditable victories in the counterattacks on the Europeans. This maritime position was lost in 1755-56 not so much on account of the prowess of foreign arms, as on account of the short-sighted policy of the utterly selfish Peshwa Balaji Bajirao.

112) See Chapt. 3

113) Biker, *Tratados* Vol VI, PP. 2-4

114) *Idem* P. 62

115) *Bom. Letters Received* Vol. 1.

116) For the clause of this treaty, vide *supra*. Chapt. 3.

117) *Bom. Pub. Con.* Range 341, Vol. 9, P. 372 sq. Upon this point. The Governor, John Home, in his reply of Dec. 14, commented, "It is now to me that Sambajee Angria is a vassal of the Rajah's. He always before styled himself a servant of the Sou Rajah." Apparently, the Governor was ignorant of the treaty between the two cousin kings, on account of which they extended their protection to each other's servants from their common enemies.

Relations With The French :

Of the four European nations, the French came least in contact with the Maratha fleet during Shahu's reign. They had however felt the effects of its growing power. "The Angrias". wrote the Council at Pondichery to their Company on Jan. 13, 24/1742, "grow more powerful than ever, and their audacity in proportion ... It will be an absolute necessity for the European nations trading with India to endeavour to unite their forces for destroying these pirates. It is believed that their (i.e. Angre's) forces have been at times so strong on the sea from Cap Comorin to Surat. The Company, of course, has suffered a good deal from them."¹¹⁸

From the same letter it seems that Kanhoji took a French vessel in 1718;¹¹⁹ and being provoked apparantly by many such losses. M. Dumas, the General at Pondichery, sent in 1736 to the English Governor of Bombay, through that of Fort St. George, a proposal to concert proper measures between the two nations for "Angria's destruction".¹²⁰ The government of Bombay considered it carefully and wrote to Fort St. George "giving their sentiments of the Power and Strength of Angria and what force may be necessary to accomplish the work, with the difficulties and objections that occurred to them against the undertaking."¹²¹ Fort St. George in their reply to Bombay of Feb. 14, 1737 said that, having considered the "objections against joining with the French for the destruction of Angria they were of opinion that any correspondence with them thereupon would be useless."¹²²

In Dec. 1741 Sambhaji Angre took the French Company's Europe ship, the Jupiter. She was despatched from Mahe to Goa to bring provisions for the squadron of M. de la Bourdonnais. "On her setting out she was attacked by 7 palles* and 20 gallevats of Angria, and after a battle of ten hours she lost her rudder and all the masts, and was obliged to surrender".¹²³ The Council at Pondichery attributed the loss to "ill-

118) *Correspondance du Conseil Superiour de Pondichery*, Tome III, P. 392.

119) *Idem*.

120) *Bom. Pub. Con.* Range 341, Vol. 9, Con. Jan. 11, 1737.

121) *Idem* .

122) *Idem* P. 238

* War-vessel, otherwise known as Grabs.

luck" and took no measures against the captor.¹²⁴

In 1746, after the capture of Madras by the French from the English (Sept. 10), Tulaji Angre sent two "ambassadors" to congratulate the French chief at Mahe on that victory. He also offered his entire maritime force and 6,000 men, "the pick of his troops". To assist the French in destroying the English Settlements on that side of India, and proposed a Treaty of Navigation. The "ambassadors" were given a grand reception, and their assistance eagerly availed of.¹²⁵ Thus, the French who, ten years before proposed to the English to unite their forces to destroy Angre, now joined hands with the "pirate" to uproot their European rivals from the Malabar coast.¹²⁶

Relation With The Dutch :

So early as in March 1703, Kanhoji took a Dutch vessel "of 14 guns and 15 Europeans, having good store of ammunition, mortars, shell and small arms ..." ¹²⁷ In 1707 he took two more of their vessels, both of which were "well manned with Dutchmen."¹²⁸ Such losses naturally angered the Dutch settlements, and on their communicating the matter to their Company the latter in theirs of July. 13. 24, 1709 to Batavia "held forth the propriety of chastising the pirate."¹²⁹

123) Council at Pondichery to Co. Jan. 24, 1742. Correspondance Tome III, P. 392.

The Jupiter was one of the ships of the Company that were regularly employed in voyages between France and India. The last time she left India for her homeward voyage was about Oct. 1739 with a cargo of 800 bales of Callicoes and 160 Candy of Redwood, and a quantity of Pepper. (Letters to Fort St. George P. 95) She reached France in Aug. 1740 and set sail again for India in the same year (Correspondance Tome PP. 280, 286, 364). Grose says that she was of 40 guns and had 400 slaves on board when Angre took it. Travels Vol. 2, P. 215.

124) Correspondance Tome III, P. 407.

125) Idem Tome IV, PP. 244-45.

126) A. Martineau, the editor of Correspondance du Conseil (PP XVII- XVIII) says that Dupleix, the then Governor of Pondichery, "Courteously" refused the assistance of Tulaji. But the facts seem to be otherwise. M. Dupleix and Council ordered their subordinates at Mahe to enter heartily into the negotiations with Tulaji (Idem PP. 244-45) and asked M. Dordelin, whose squadron reached Mahe in Feb. 1747 not to attack Tulaji's vessels pending the negotiations (Idem PP. 347-48). The Company too was extremely pleased with the orders of the Council and thoroughly approved of the whole proceeding (Idem PP. 443-44). Besides Ananda Ranga Pillai writes in his Diary that on Feb. 8, 1747 (n.s.) five ships sailed off from Pondichery to Mahe, their Captains being "desired to take on board 6,000 Angrias and the letter was carried by one of the ships." (Vol. 3, PP 297-98). It is therefore certain that the French and Tulaji combined their floats against the English in 1747, though it appears that the negotiations for the Treaty of Navigation came to nothing.

127) Bom. to Surat, March 11, 1703. F. R. Bombay Vol. 18.

128) Sir John Gayer from Surat to Co. March 1 and May 9, 1707.

129) Press List of Ancient Dutch Records in Madras No. 72.

Representations were made to Kanhoji in 1710 for the restoration of the vessels with all their cargo. He replied that he was not aware of any friendship existing between him and the Dutch Company, and that he never molested such merchants as took his passes; he did not therefore "hold himself responsible for the return of the Prizes".¹³⁰ Upon this, Batavia wrote to their subordinates on the Malabar coast on Aug. 19, 30, 1710 pressing them "to prevent by any means, if possible, the recurrence of robberies on the high seas by Cannosy Angris."¹³¹ It is a surprising fact that many years were allowed to elapse before the Dutch undertook to punish the "pirate". Orme says that they made an unsuccessful attack on Kanhoji's stronghold of Cheria in 1724;¹³² but there is no evidence of any attack being made in that year. In 1738 Sambhaji Angre attacked, off Honavar, the Dutch Company's ship "Noordwelfsbergen" and the yachts "Zeelands Welvaren" and "Magdalena". The yachts fell into his hands after a stubborn fight of three days; the ship returned to Cochin totally disabled.¹³³

On hearing this news a "considerable squadron" was equipped from Batavia under command of Major Siersama "to make reprisals or to compel the pirate to make compensation and to conclude a treaty with the Honorable Company".¹³⁴ Early in 1739 an armament consisting of 8 warships and several light vessels set sail from Cochin to attack Cheria.¹³⁵ The Court of Directors of the E. I. Company ever delighted to hear from Bombay the news of this expedition. "We observe with pleasure" they wrote to their Settlement "that the Dutch have taken in hand the humbling of Angria ... We doubt not of your having shown them all needful Civility, and persuade ourselves that such a favorable opportunity was Embraced by joining all our forces with theirs to bring about his Destruction."¹³⁶

The expedition, however, ended in a failure;¹³⁷ and though the Dutch

130) Idem

131) Idem

132) History of Military Transactions Vol. 1, P. 410.

133) A Moens Memorandum April 1781; "The Dutch in Malabar", P. 168.

134) Idem

135) MSS. Portuguese Records. Notícia da India Vol. 2, Pt. 3, P. 667; Press List of Ancient Dutch Records in Madras, "Seven armed ships and two bomb-vessels with a numerous body of land-forces." Travels. Vol. 2, P. 215.

136) Co's General to Bombay, March 28, 1740. Letter Book, Vol. 25, P. 172.

137) The Dutch in Malabar PP. 168-169.

always kept a watchful eye on the movements of the "Angrian pirates",¹³⁸ it does not appear that they took any great measures against them during Shahu's reign.

It should be remembered that in those years the position of the Dutch Settlements along Indian Coasts was very strong. "Their strength in India" wrote the Court of Directors to Bombay "is greatly superior to ours and all other Europeans joined together."¹³⁹ If such a powerful nation could not damage, much less destroy, the Maratha fleet, the latter must have grown really formidable.

Relations With The Portuguese :

As Kanhoji's possessions lay between the Portuguese lands of Bassein to the north and Choul to the south, he came very much in contact with them; but their mutual relations were not uniform. In 1699 the Portuguese, being continually "plundered" by the "sevajees" (Marathas), were obliged to keep about 16 war vessels near Bombay to guard their coast.¹⁴⁰ In 1701, when the Sidi besieged both Khanderi and Kolaba, two principal strongholds of the Marathas near Bombay, "the Portuguese and the Marathas concluded a peace, the latter having free Egress and Progress into the former(s) Harbours and (being) supplied with what have occasion for."¹⁴¹ This made Kanhoji "more boldly threats the Island" of Bombay.¹⁴² The friendship between Kanhoji and the Portuguese went on increasing to the dismay of their common neighbor, the English, who ironically remarked that the two could be friends because both were treacherous.¹⁴³ On Jan. 1, 1703 they wrote to Surat, "Cannajee Angra (Kanhoji Angre) is at present with his fleet at Versava;* he hath been lately at Bussen (Bassein) to visit the Capt. Gen. and make his presents which they say amounted to upword of 1000 rupees to his etc. who received him in a great deal of State, and he knowing what would please the proud Portuguese was as vaine in his discourse and boastings as they are, telling them that as they were now in amity he would assist them in all respects, and they should see

138) See Press List of Ancient Dutch Records in Madras, Nos. 47, 442 nd 500.

139) Feb. 21, 1716. Letter Book Vol. 16, P. 408.

140) Bom. to Co. Aug. 21, 1699. F. R. Bombay Vol. 17.

141) Bom. to Surat, May 8, 1701. F. R. Surat Vol. 116.

142) Idem.

143) Bom. to Surat, Jan. 19, 1703. F. R. Bombay Vol. 17.

* Visawa, near Bombay, then in Portuguese possession.

in a little time what he would do to the English and the inhabitants here,* though he could not take the Island.* Yet he would give them sufficient to remember the name of Cannajee Angra."¹⁴⁴

There was a bitter jealousy between the two European Settlements, and Kanhoji took advantage of it to increase his own power. The English often complained of the Portuguese protecting Kanhoji's "piracles" upon their own vessels,¹⁴⁵ and of allowing him to sell his prizes in their country¹⁴⁶ and use their colours on his vessels.¹⁴⁷ The Portuguese took no head of such compliments, and the peace between them and Kanhoji continued up to 1712, on Kanhoji's own terms as the English called it.¹⁴⁸

In that year hostilities broke out between the two for some cause which is not known, and Kanhoji took most of the Portuguese armada and disabled one of their ships of 40 guns which narrowly escaped.¹⁴⁹ Upon this rupture the Viceroy of Goa proposed to join his forces with those of the English to attack Kanhoji.¹⁵⁰ The latter two, however, entered into a treaty of peace in Feb. 1713,¹⁵¹ and the Portuguese were left along to carry their war against Kanhoji. In this they secured the assistance of the Sidi, Kanhoji's inveterate enemy, and besieged the fort of Kolaba in Dec. 1713, while their ally prevented, by his fleet, any succors being sent to Angre.¹⁵² The siege ended in a failure; but the hostilities continued for a long time after.

In 1716, Kanhoji took a rich ship belonging to the Portuguese,¹⁵³ and next year offered to join the Arabs, their bitter enemies, against them.¹⁵⁴ In 1720 the newly arrived Viceroy, Francisce Joseph de Sampaio, sent a fleet with a body of picked men to surprise Kolaba. The Portuguese commander succeeded in disembarking at the foot of the walls of that fort. "But before they could place the scaling ladders they were perceived and instead of a discharge of artillery and musketry, were greeted with

+ I. e. Bombay.

144) Bom. to Surat, Jan. 1, 1703. F. R. Bombay Vol. 17.

145) Bom. to Co. May 31, 1704. Abstract Letters Received Bombay Vol. 1, P. 7.

146) Idem May 1, 1711 (P. 162)

147) Bom. to Surat, Dec. 3, 1703. F. R. Bombay Vol. 18.

148) Bom. to Co. Jan. 14, 1712. Bombay Letters Received Vol. 1.

149) Bom. to Co. Jan. 31, 1713. Abstract Letters Received, Bombay Vol. 1, P. 179.

150) Idem.

151) Bom. Pub. Con. Range 341, Vol. IV. Con. Feb. 12 1713 etc.

152) MSS. Portuguese Records. Noticias da India Vol. I, Pl. 2, P. 466.

153) President Boone from Bombay to Co. March 9, 1716. Abstract Letters Received Bombay Vol. 1, P. 230.

154) Bom. to Co. March 18, 1717. Idem P. 286.

the sounds of musical instruments, the Angria wishing to show in this manner that he could not be surprised." The expedition retreated without firing a shot.¹⁵⁵

All these years the Portuguese were soliciting the help of the English and proposing to combine their forces against Kanhoji, "The Portuguese" wrote Bombay to company on Dec. 7, 1717, "will willingly join against him (i.e. Kanhoji) and perhaps would give up Tannah (Tanna) or part of Salset to the English towards the charge".¹⁵⁶ At last in 1721 the two nation entered into a "grand alliance" and conducted a joint attack against him. The particulars of this memorable event will be related under the next heading.

Relations With The English :

A detailed account of the growth of the relations between the English and the Angre family would fill several times the number of the pages of this chapter. Only important episodes in these relations are noticed here.

It is already mentioned that, before the beginning of the year 1700. Kanhoji was well known to his English neighbours at Bombay. On March 13, 1701 Bombay wrote to Surat, "The Morattas are become our Enemies as appears by their taking sevell (i.e. several) Vessels belonging to this Island."¹⁵⁷ Such sundry captures by Kanhoji continued till Dec. 1703, when a treaty of peace and friendship was concluded between him and the gentlemen at Bombay.¹⁵⁸

But the ill feelings between the two parties were not at all lessened. On Nov. 22, 1704 Kanhoji anchored with several war-vessels at the very mouth of the Pan* river, with an intention to intercept boats going to Bombay.¹⁵⁹ The government of the island decided to send Mr. William Reynolds, a member of their Council, to Kanhoji for "civilly telling him in words neither more nor less that he can't be permitted searching, molesting or seizing any goods, boats or other vessels from what Port,

155) *Niticias da India* Vol. 2, Pt. 1, PP. 49-50.

156) *Idem* P. 269

157) *F. R. Surat* Vol. 116.

158) *Bom. to Surat*, Dec. 6, 1703. *F. R. Bombay* Vol. 16.

* Close to Bombay

159) *Bom. Pub. Con.* Vol. 2, P. 15.

160) *Idem* P. 17

harbour, place of what nation so ever they may be, bringing provision, timber or merchandize to Bombay. Mahim or other place from whence they came, without breach of that friendship the English Nation has always had with Raja Savajee and all his Captains acting in Subordination to him; which if he (i.e. Kanhoji) refuses to stipulate in writing with him under his seal, said W. Reynolds is not on any account whatever by words or otherwise to threaten or insinuate any design of hostility against him but respectfully taking his leave, and come away; presenting him as customary with three yards of scarlet cloth."¹⁶⁰ It was further decided on the same day that, upon Kanhoji's making the first breach of the Peace, the Company's vessels were to be sent "to surprise said Conjee and his said Groab and Boats; otherwise the English and other Inhabitants on the Island can neither be safe in their Houses by his frequent landing, or provisions and other materials brought for support and service of the Island."¹⁶¹ Kanhoji's answer to the deputation was that he would seize all vessels which did not take his pass, "the English being at Liberty acting as they please."¹⁶² In 1706 he broke the peace by attacking the Company's Europeship, the Arabis.¹⁶³ Early in 1707 he took a Bengal ship with 20 Europeans and 40 other on board.¹⁶⁴

The English did all they could to chastise the "pirate". In Feb. 1707 a proclamation was published at Bombay, declaring a standing method of rewarding the services of those who would be killed or wounded in the war with Kanhoji.¹⁶⁵ In September, orders were issued to all vessels in the Company's service at Bombay, to make reprisal upon Kanhoji by seizing if they could "one or two of said Angria's Grabs". "For which service" ran the order "one third part of their full value or whatever they shall so seize, shall be for the benefit of the Master or Masters, Englishmen or other seamen and soldiers that shall make said

161) Idem.

162) Idem P. 30

163) Bom. to Co. April 18, 1706. Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 1, P. 59.

164) Bom. to Co. March 17, 1707. Idem P. 77

165) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 2, PP. 123 sq.

Every Englishmen was to be rewarded according to the post he held and the services he performed. If he was killed and left a widow, she would receive his reward. Topasses or native Christian soldiers, getting 5 xeraphins per month would receive 9; those getting 9 would receive 12. Colies or fishermen in the Company's service would have their pay increased from 4 to 5 xeraphins per month. Widows of Topasses and Colies would get what their husbands might have received.

166) Idem Con. Sept. 8, 1707.

Capture".¹⁶⁶ Similarly, orders "to use all possible endeavours to take or destroy all vessels belonging to Conajee Angria", were permanently inserted in the customary orders given to these cruizers.¹⁶⁷ But all such measures proved unavailing against Kanhoji's growing power. By 1711 no small craft could pass between Dabhol and Surat without his pass.¹⁶⁸ On Nov. 8, 1723 Bombay wrote to the Company that he had "kept his Vackeel (i.e. agent) at Surat to issue passes without any notice taken thereof, but conveyed at by the Surat Government" of the Mughal empire.¹⁶⁹

In 1712 the peace between Kanhoji and the Portuguese was broken, and the latter offered to join hands with the English to destroy him. Kanhoji outwitted the Portuguese in diplomacy and succeeded in concluding a fresh treaty with the government of Bombay in Feb. 1712.¹⁷⁰ By this treaty he agreed to restore whatever goods he had seized out of the Company's vessels; to cease molesting English ships; and to open his ports to the Company's ships. The English granted him similar liberties.

By Article No. 5 of this treaty the English settlement agreed to "permit no ships or vessels whatever to wear English colours but what belonged to the subjects of the English Nation". Contrary to the spirit of this agreement they started freighting country vessels. To this practice Kanhoji took objection saying. "The ships belonging to Bombay, Bengal or Madras shall not be molested by him, but if the English will freight on country Shipping they must expect that he will make prize of them." ¹⁷¹ The government of Bombay refused to accept Kanhoji's interpretation of the treaty. He answered their refusal by seizing one of their country ships in Jan. 1718.¹⁷² Warm representations were made by the governor of Bombay; to which warmer replies were made by Kanhoji,¹⁷³ and as their differences could not be settled amicably, fresh hostilities broke out in May 1718.¹⁷⁴

167) See Idem Con. Jan. 25, 1711.

168) Bom. to Co. May 1, 1711. Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 1, P. 162.

169) Bombay Letters Received Vol. 1.

170) Idem Vol. IV Con. Feb. 12 and 14, 1713.

171) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. IV, P. 31 Sqq.

172) Idem

173) Idem PP. 58- 59, 59-61, 77-80, 80-83

174) Idem P. 87

This time a vigorous war against Kanhoji Angre was personally conducted by Charles Boone, the governor of Bombay.¹⁷⁵ On the governor's suggestion, the Court of Directors had, early in 1717, ordered all their Settlements in India to give notice to their servants that none of the country shipping be permitted to sell to Kanhoji "salt-petre, powder, great guns or fire-arms or any warlike stores."¹⁷⁶ If, after notice, the servants transgressed the order, they were to be sent directly to England.¹⁷⁷ Similarly, clause was put in every contract with the captain of a ship, sent from England to India, that he should allow none of these articles to be sold on the Malabar coast, out of the stock on board his ship.¹⁷⁸ The President and Council at Bombay built 5 Grabs and 7 Callivats especially for the war,¹⁷⁹ and constructed a Praham* carrying 12.32 pounders on board.¹⁸⁰ A bombketch for fire-vessel was also prepared.¹⁸¹ But there was no bombardier, and knowing that "nothing terrified the Natives like Granados and Bombs". Boone requested the governor of Fort St. George to procure one for him. Men were sent from Madras to Pondichery to learn the art. And Bombay was supplied with a bombardier.¹⁸² Hundreds of Sepoys or native soldiers were enlisted.¹⁸³ On Wednesday, June 25, 1718 a fast was observed in Bombay by order of the President and council, and papers were made for "God's blessing

175) It is to be admired that, even when Boone was not keeping good health and had relinquished most of his duties to his subordinates, he went in person on an expedition against Kanhoji Angre in Nov. 1718. See Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. IV, P 106; Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol. I, PP. 314-15.

176) Co. to Fort St. George, July 2, 1717. Letter Book Vol. 16, P. 251. In theirs of Oct. 30 to Bengal they sent the said order and added, "The reason is Conajee Angria is become very formidable and both great deal of mischief." Idem.

177) Idem Vol. 16, P. 251

178) Co. to Fort St. George, Feb. 3, 1720. Idem Vol. 17, P. 182.

179) Bom. to Co. Dec. 7, 1717. Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 1, P. 271.

In order to meet the cost of war with Angre and especially the cost of building these new vessels called grabs, a new duty of 2 p.c. was levied at Bombay, and was known as "Grabbage" duty. Bombay requested Fort William and Fort St. George to contribute their shares to maintain the said war, which they asserted was for the good of all settlements; but the latter refused to pay any thing. See Co. to Fort. St. George, Feb. 3, 1720. Letter Book Vol. 17, P. 189; Co. to Bengal Idem PP. 232-33

180) Bom. to Co. Dec. 20, 1718. Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 1, P. 316

181) Bom. to Co. Oct. 30, 1718. Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 1, P. 203.

* C. Downing describes the Praham as "a floating castle or a machine that should be almost cannon - proof". History of the War with Angria, P. 39.

182) Fort St. George to Co. Sept. 19, 1718, Coast and Bay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 2, P. 161; Bom. to Fort St. George (of no date), Letters to Fort St. George Vol. XV P. 4.

183) Bom. to Co. Aug. 5, 1718, Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 1, P. 292.

on our arms against Angria."¹⁸⁴

The result of these preparations was not unsatisfactory. Several descents were made by the English on Kanhoji's lands at sundry times; his places burned and pillaged; his men carried as prisoners.¹⁸⁵ On Oct. 31, 1718 Boone embarked on the Addison, and being accompanied with all war vessels, bomb-ketch and about 2,500 men, proceeded next day against Kolaba; but the expedition ended in a failure.¹⁸⁶ On Nov. 23, 3 frigates with a fire-vessel and several other were sent to visit Angre's harbors, and to engage or burn his Grabs. They found one at Vijaydurg, but before they could board her a shot from the enemy blew up the fire-vessel.¹⁸⁷ After that the English ships were employed only in blockading Kanhoji's ports.¹⁸⁸

While the hostilities were in progress, Kanhoji made proposals of peace; but the governor of Bombay insisted on the release of the English prisoners (who wherewith Kanhoji for a long time) before proceeding to treat with him.¹⁸⁹ At last King Shahu sent his own envoy to Bombay in Jan. 1719, "to conclude a peace with the English Nation in a which Caunojee Angria his servant should be included".¹⁹⁰ After a protracted negotiation a Treaty of Amity and Commerce was made with Shahu Raja. By this, Kanhoji engaged to return back the ships he had taken or their value, and Shahu agreed to give a bond for paying Rs. 30,000 more.¹⁹¹ By way of part performance, Kanhoji deposited goods valued at Rs. 12,500.¹⁹² Later on however he refused to ratify the treaty unless certain additional Articles were included, and upon the English refusing to accept this condition war between the two was renewed.¹⁹³

184) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. IV PP. 98-99.

185) See Idem PP. 99, 131, 134, 143.

186) Bom. to Co. Nov. 18, 1718. Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol. I, P. 315. C. Dowins, who was present in the expedition, says that it was against, Khanderi (History of the Wars with Angria PP. 34-40). But this narrative is so confused and his knowledge of places and people so scanty that he is not to be always depended upon. In the present case, the abovementioned Bombay letter specifically mentions that the expedition was against Kolaba.

187) Bom. to Co. Jan. 9, 1719. Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol. I, P. 326.

188) Idem PP. 328-29. On April 5, 1719 Bombay wrote to the Co., "Angria's Grabs got out of Callaby (i.e. Kolaba) though the English Grabs lay before it." Idem P. 329.

189) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. IV, PP. 127-134

190) Idem. Con. Jan. 30, 1719.

191) Bom. to Co. Sept. 24, 1719. Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol. I, P. 360; Co. to Bom. April 26, 1721; Letter Book Vol. 17, P. 608.

192) Bom. to Co. Oct. 24, 1719. Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol. I, P. 354

193) Bom. to Co. Jan. 6, 1720. Idem P. 362.

Anglo-Portuguese Grand Alliance, Aug. 9, 1721 :

By this the prospects of an Anglo-Portuguese alliance against Kanhoji Angre grew brighter. It is already mentioned that the Portuguese had been soliciting the assistance of their European neighbours for a long time. At last on Oct. 27, 1718 the governor of Bombay proposed some articles which are given in full in the appendix (No. 1) to this chapter. Nothing was done at that time, but in Dec. 1720 the negotiations were again taken up and Mr. Robert Cowan was sent from Bombay to Goa.¹⁹⁴ The counter proposals of the viceroy of Goa, and the governor of Bombay's additions and amendments to the same are also given in full in the appendices Nos. 2 and 3. On Aug. 8, 20, 1721 the negotiation came to an end and a treaty was concluded, (which is entered in appendix No. 6). This was an "offensive and defensive alliance" against the enemies of both parties, and particularly against Kanhoji Angra. "The two nations" said the treaty "will immediately commence a vigorous war against the Angria". (Article No. 1). The number of men and ships to be provided for, by each party, in the said war was fixed. (Article No. 8), and the manner of dividing the booty as well as lands and forts taken from the enemy was agreed upon. (Articles Nos. 6, 10).

Four Men-Of-War From England :

By a coincidence, four men-of-war were sent from England at this very time to suppress the European pirates in the India Seas.¹⁹⁵ The four ships were the Lyon, commended by Thomas Mathews, who was also the commander-in-chief of the expedition; the Salisbury, commanded by John Cockburn; the Exeter, commanded by Sir. Robert Johnson; and the Shoreham, commanded by Covil Mayne.¹⁹⁶ The men-

194) Robert Cowan from Goa to Thomas Wooley, Secretary to the E. I. Co. Jan. 18, 7, 1721. Miscellaneous Letters Received Vol. 12, Letter No. 27.

195) The first memorial of the Court of Directors to His Majesty, to protect their trade in all possible ways from the said pirates, was made on Dec. 2, 1719. (Correspondence Memoranda, Vol. 16). The memorial was referred to the Admiralty, who remembering former occasions on which men of war were sent to India (1699 and 1703) when most of their commanders and men died, and the ships themselves were disabled - reported that no men-of-war should be sent again (Idem Vol. 7). But owing to the persistent efforts of the Directors, it was decided in Nov. 1720 to send four men of war to India to suppress the European pirates, who were greatly infesting those seas at that time. (Idem.)

196) Idem Vol. 7

of-war sailed from Spithead in Feb. 1721;¹⁹⁷ they reached Bombay by the end of September following.¹⁹⁸

Mathew's commission was to seize and try the pirates, and bring home Englishmen trading without licence beyond the Cape of Good Hope.¹⁹⁹ He had "no orders to protect the Company's trade".²⁰⁰ Still the Company asked their servant at Bombay "to improve this opportunity of so many ships of War to many valuable purposes".²⁰¹ "We hope" they added "Angria is quiet — If not by your good management this may prove a happy juncture to force him to better manners by beating him out of Carry (i.e. Kolaba) too. It would be very welcome news to us to hear you were rid of near so perfidious and mischievous a neighbour that otherwise sooner or later is like to prove a thorn in your side."²⁰²

Joint Attack On Kanhoji Dec. 1721 :

The English alliance with the Portuguese being concluded, the war against Kanhoji was immediately waged. Mr. Robert Cowan was the commander-in-chief of the English forces; the Viceroy of Goa in person commanded those of the Portuguese. "By great Condescensions and with; difficulty" Mr. Mathews was prevailed upon to join the expedition against Angre.²⁰³ The four men-of-war and several small vessels with troops sailed from Bombay for Chaul* on Nov. 29, 1721.²⁰⁴ Four Portuguese frigates, from 60 to 70 guns each, some grabs and other vessels had already arrived there. The English had in the field 2409 men, 22 great guns and 8 large mortars.²⁰⁵

Kanhoji's Defensive Preparations :

Before the Angle-Portuguese alliance was concluded, Kanhoji had learnt of the negotiations; and he wrote to the Portuguese governor of

197) Letter Book Vol. 17, P. 205. They sailed on Feb. 5

198) The Lyon and Shoreham arrived at Bombay on Aug. 27; the Exeter on Sept. 15; and the Salisbury on Sept. 29.

199) Correspondence Memoranda Vol. 7.

200) Bom. to Co. Dec. 28, 1721. Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 1, P. 411.

201) Letter Book Vol. 17, P. 469

202) Co. to Bom. Dec. 9, 1720, Letter Bok Vol. 17, P. 403.

203) Bom. to Co. Dec. 28, 1721; Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 1, P. 411

204) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. V, Diary of Nov. 29, 1721.

* To the south of Bombay. It was at that time in Portuguese possession. This place was to be the rendervous for the men and vessels of the two allies.

205) Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 1, P. 411.

Bassein that, in the event of the two nations combining against him, he would give them suitable reception, but that it would be wiser to settle their mutual differences in a peaceful manner.²⁰⁶ Following the principles of true policy he endeavoured at the same time to avoid war and to prepare himself for it, hastily fortifying his maritime fortresses especially that of Cullabo (Kolaba), his residence and the storehouse of his treasure — He placed there and Allibaga (Alibagh)* a numerous picked garrison knowing that they would be the principal objects of his allies and in order to show his enemies that he had the powerful protection of Sau Raja (Shahu) he asked him to assist him with some cavalry, and he (i.e. Shahu) immediately sent him a fifteen hundred (1500) horse under the command of Pillagi Zaddo²⁰⁷ (Pilaji Jadhav).

Expedition Fails :

On Dec. 2, 1721 the united armies of the English and the Portuguese proceeded from Chaul to attack Alibagh which protected the watering place of Kolaba.²⁰⁸ After having some skirmishes with Kanhoji's men, the armies encamped in front of Alibagh on the 12th. Next day Cowan set out with 500 men with petards for the gate of the fort. When he reached there he found it closed up with stone and mortar.²⁰⁹ He then tried to scale its high walls, but the Marathas under the command of Pilaji Jadhav made such a violent attack upon the Europeans that they had to retreat precipitately. "Many of the English were damaged by their own shells. The mariners from the men-of-war suffered most in the retreat being not under good command."²¹⁰ His Majesty's ship Shoreham received such an injury that, on the cessation of arms, she had to be sent to Surat for repairs which took some months to complete.²¹¹

206) *Noticia da India* Vol. 2, Pt. 1, PP. 68-69

207) *Idem* PP. 71-73, See also *Itihas Sangrah*, *Peshwe Daftar* PP. 18-19, where is printed a grant of some lands to Pilaji Jadhav made on Nov. 4, 1722. The grant mentions that, in the war of the English and Portuguese with Kanhoji, Pilaji made a vigorous defence of Alibagh, and inflicted a severe defeat on the combined forces of the two European nations.

• The watering place of Kolaba.

208) *Bom. to Co.* Dec. 28, 1721; *Bombay Abstract Letters Received* Vol. 1, P. 411.

209) *Noticias da India*, Vol. 2, Pt. 1, P. 89.

210) *Bom. to Co.* Dec. 28, 1721, *Bombay Abstract Letters Received* vol. 1, P. 422; *Itihas Sangrah*, *Peshwe Daftar* P. 19.

211) *Miscellaneous Letters Received* Vol. 13, Nos. 180, 203.

On the 16th the Viceroy fell "seriously ill of a double tertian" and repaired on board a Portuguese ship, leaving the command to the General of the North. D. Antonic Casco de Mello.²¹² On the night of the 19th, the Peshwa Bajirao arrived with 6,000 horse to assist Kanhoji Angre, and the Marathas were so spirited up that they caused a havock in the enemies camp by their cannons.²¹³ Immediately on his arrived, Bajirao intimated to the Viceroy that it would be best for the contending parties to lay down arms and make peace.²¹⁴ By the experience of over a fortnight's fighting, the Viceroy had already found out that "he could attempt nothing, the enemy's army being so very powerful."²¹⁵ He therefore showed willingness to consider terms of peace and after some negotiations a treaty was concluded between the Portuguese on one side and Kanhoji and the Peshwas on the other (Dec. 29).²¹⁶ On the 30th, the men-of-war and other English Vessels with most of the troops and stores returned to Bombay.²¹⁷ On Jan. 6, 1722, the Portuguese ships with the Viceroy set sail for Goa.²¹⁸

Treaty of Dec. 29, 1721 :

This new treaty between the Portuguese and the Marathas mainly provided that, if necessary, one party should assist the other excepting against such as would be in peace with either State; that no duties should be levied on goods, brought or sold by subjects of either State in the other's ports or territories; that the Portuguese should not give convoy to the vessels of the enemies of the Maratha's; that as the sole end of the treaty was "The improving of trade and commerce" therefore should be no impediments on either side in buying and selling "as well provisions as warlike stores, powder, ball, guns and the merchandize;" that the merchants of both states should be at liberty to import and export goods in their own vessels, but not in foreign bottoms and that the prisoners of war should be restored by one party to the other. The same terms were offered to the English as the allies of the Portuguese, provided the governor of Bombay sent a proper person to sign them within the space

212) Noticias da India Vol. 2, PL 1, P. 90.

213) Idem PP. 91-92.

214) Idem PP. 92-93

215) Idem.

216) Biker, Tratados, Tome VI, PP. 10-12

217) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. V, Diary of the day.

218) Noticias da India Vol. 2, Pt. 1, P. 98

of eight days.²¹⁹ The governor declined the offer.

The Natural consequence of the Portuguese concluding the treaty exclusive of the English lead to a quarrel between the two. A paper war was at first carried on, over the interpretation of the terms of their alliance of Aug. 9, 1721. But afterwards actual hostilities were commenced and continued for a long time to a heavy loss of both parties.²²⁰

No More Attacks On The Angres :

From this time to the end of Shahu's reign, no more attacks were made by the English on Angre's forts or territories. The total fallure, with which all aggressive measures of so energetic a governor as Mr. Charles Boone (Nov. 1715 - Jan. 1722) met served as a warning for many years to come. "As to dislodging the Enemy" wrote the Company to Bombay on March 15, 1734 "from his strong Holds and Fortresses, we have but too much reason to apprehend from an unsuccessful attempt of the like kind in Governor Boone's time, that if it were again repeated would prove abortive; therefore, do you act in your own sphere, which is to humble him by sea and by the assistance of our Europe ships for some part of the year you are surely in a great measure so to do."

More Naval Force for Bombay :

In order to humble the enemy by sea, the Company supplied their settlements of Bombay with more naval force. In 1722, they sent from 3 home built galleys, Bombay, Fort St. George and Bengal, each of about 160 tons and constructed "more particularly for sailing and rowing." Explaining why they had to build these vessels they wrote to fort St. George. "The main reason why our President and Council at Bombay have not had that success against Angria as the strength of our Grabs and the Courage of our people foreboded was that Angrias grabs were better sailers."²²¹ In 1728, they sent another Gallery named the Princess Caroline, which was 28 tons bigger than the former and was "curiously moulded for sailing."²²² In 1730, they added two more the King George and the Prince of Wells, each bigger than the Princess Caroline.²²³

219) Biker, Tratados Tome VI, P. 12.

220) See Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. V. Consultations for the year 1722.

221) Letter Book Vol. 23, P. 228

222) Co. to Fort St. George, Feb. 6, 1722. Letter Book Vol. 18, P. 132

223) Co. to Bom. March 7, 1729; Idem Vol. 21, P. 453

224) Co. to Bom. Feb. 1730, Idem P. 698.

Besides this permanent addition to their navel strength on the Malabar Coast, the Company decided to employ one of their Europe ships as a "Guard Ship" on that side for the better part of every year. Thus on Aug. 18, 1736, the Grand Committee of the whole court of Directors resolved, "That one ship be sent to stay at Bombay for the Defence of that Island and the Malabar Coast, with an able and Experienced Commander acquainted with those parts who upon his arrival at Bombay shall by order from hence to the Governors and Council at Bombay be by them appointed Commodore (Subject to their orders) of all the Company's Galleys, Crabs and other Marine forces and so shall continue until another shall be appointed from hence."²²⁵ Such a "Guard ship" was yearly posted at Bombay since 1736; and in 1750 "the Depredations of Angria" having still continued another ship was added to that of the Commodore's.²²⁶

Angre's Family Troubles :

Kanhoji Angre died of illness at his fortress of Kolaba on June 13, 1729.²²⁷ He left many children of whom four sons Sekhoji, Sambhaji, Manaji and Tulaji proved nearly as able commandants of the Maratha navy as their father was. Sekhoji being the eldest, Shahu conferred on him the title of Sarkhel (admiral) and sent robes of honour (July 21)²²⁸ Sambhaji (who was next in age) was brave but hot-headed. He disagreed with his elder brother and insisted to have his share of his father's possessions. The vessels were consequently divided between the two.²²⁹ Sekhoji made Kolaba his head quarter and Sambhaji removed to Gheria alias Vijayadurg. King Shahu tried to compose these family quarrels and summoned Sambhaji to his presence. The latter saw the king at Satara in Jan. 1731;²³⁰ and both he and Sekhoji again waited upon the king early in 1732²³¹ but it was found impossible to reconcile them to each other.

On Aug. 28, 1733 Sekhoji died of fever at his residence at Kolaba.²³² Sambhaji succeeded him by Shahu's order.²³³ His younger brother Manaji, who till that time lived with Sekhoji had early roused his jealousy. The

225) Correspondence Reports Vol. 3.

226) Co. to Bom. Nov. 28, 1750. Letter Book Vol. 28, P. 30

227) Noticias da India Vol. 2, Pt. 1, PP 307- 308.

228) Shahu's Diary Entry No. 139

229) Bom. to Co. Jan. 20, 1730. Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 1A, P. 365.

230) Shahu's Diary Entry No. 140.

231) Bom. to Co. Sept. 22, 1732; Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 1A, P. 409.

232) Letter to the Peshwa, Aug. 28, 1733. Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 3, Entry No. 99.

ill feelings between the brothers daily increased and it is said that Sambhaji sought Manaji's life.²³⁴ The latter therefore fled Kolaba to Chaul and occupied a fortified Mosque then in possession of the Sidis (Dec. 1734)²³⁵ Immediately afterwards he entered into an alliance with the English at Bombay and the Portuguese at Chaul. The former alone assisted him with a loan of Rs. 4000 and a quantity of warlike stores and chiefly with their help he took Kolaba early in 1735.²³⁶ This quarrel was temporarily stopped by the intervention of the king, who appointed Manaji the governor of Kolaba and reconciled the two brothers.²³⁷ "The hopes we had formed records the Bombay Public Consultation of Dec. 26, 1735 "of making an advantage of the Quarrel between the two brothers are thus put to an end."²³⁸

Unfortunately the quarrel was not ended. The Peshwa, who too had helped Manaji in seizing Kolaba in 1735, really desired to destroy both brothers. Sambhaji being the stronger of the two wished to avoid the evils of a divided house and once again attempted to subdue Manaji. Towards the end of March 1740, he marched in person against Kolaba and with little or no resistance took all forts and places excepting the fort of Kolaba, which he besieged.²³⁹ The government of Bombay had such a dread of Sambhaji's name that they sent immediate succours to Manaji, who badly needed them but who had not as yet applied for them.²⁴⁰ On the other hand he had sent an express to Chimaji Appa making an urgent request for relief. Chimaji despatched the Peshwa's young son Nanasahib with a force and himself followed them.²⁴¹ Under pretext of assisting Manaji the Peshwa's men seized his remaining places by force, which made him repent for his having applied for their protection²⁴² Sambhaji Angre found himself in a critical position being surrounded by the Peshwa's men on the land and the English vessels on the sea. "If both him and Nonajee" wrote Capt. Inchbird, the English commandant

233) Idem Vol. 33, Entry No. 99.

234) Letter to Shahu, Kavyetihas Sangrah, Patre Yadi Entry No. 23.

235) Idem; Noticias da India Vol. 2, Pt. 2, PP. 446-19.

236) Com. to Bom. March 11, 1736, Letter Book Vol. 23, PP. 637, 648.

237) Manaji's letter to Governor of Bombay, Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 8, P. 286.

238) Idem.

239) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 11, Con. March 30, 1740.

240) Idem

241) Chimaji's Letter to Brahmendra Swami, April 10, 1740. Life and Letters of Brahmendra Swami, Entry No. 56.

242) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 11, 1740.

on the spot, "do not strike up an agreement they both will lose all."²⁴³ Sambhaji prevailed upon his brother to cease hostilities, and the latter connived at his escape on April 19, 1740.²⁴⁴

Sambhaji died on Dec. 12, 1741.²⁴⁵ When the Court of Directors were informed of that event they wrote to Bombay. "By the Death of that subtle Enemy some good effects may ensue through differences arising in the Family, a less active head Conducting affairs, a change of Measures, or the sailors leaving the service."²⁴⁶ But no such evils descended upon the house of Kanhoji. His fourth son, Tulaji, the bravest of the four brothers, was appointed Sarkhel by Shahu.²⁴⁷ Under him, Angre's house reached the plenitude of its power, before it was destroyed by the joint efforts of the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao and the English (1755-56)

Increase of Angre's Power 1729-1749 :

A detailed account of the growth of the Maratha navy in its early stages and under the command of Kanhoji Angre has been already given. Subsequent history being better known, this part of the narrative may be completed by referring to some important events only from the death of Kanhoji to that of Shahu. The family quarrels among Kanhoji's sons did not prevent them from maintaining the position which their father had established along coast. His enemies continued to be their enemies and the mutual fights raged incessantly.

Among these encounters those with the native neighbours were insignificant because none of them was strong enough to offer much opposition. The attempts of the French and Dutch Settlements to destroy the Angres have been already noticed. The Portuguese power was crippled by the Maratha conquests of their province of the north during 1737-39 and their small craft was often a prey to Angre's depredation.²⁴⁸ The only formidable enemy to the house of Angre was the English at Bombay. Their enmity was deeply rooted their naval strength on the increase.

243) Idem. Con. April 11, 1740.

244) Idem. Diary of the day.

245) Rajwade Vol. 3, Entry No. 345.

246) Co. to Bom. March 5, 1743; Letter Book Vol. 25, P. 676.

247) Sardesai, Riyasat Madhya Vibhag Vol. 2, P. 432

248) See Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 11, Con. Feb. 1, 1740.

English Losses :

The result of the contest between the English and the Angre brothers during Shahu's reign was unfavorable to the former. Thus on Nov. 25, 1730, when an English fleet was lying off Kolaba "to prevent Angria's Grabs getting out of that Fort." Sekhoji's men pushed forth with 15 vessels and attacked the English boats with "uncommon resolution." After a tough fight they carried away the Bengali Galley.²⁴⁹ In Dec. 1731 Sambhaji took their Rose Galley which had on board 11 Dutch seamen.²⁵⁰ On Dec. 26, 1735 he captured after a whole day's fight the company's Europe ship the derby of 470 tons and made 115 men prisoners²⁵¹ Referring to this capture the company wrote to Bombay that it was the "most melancholy news (they have had) from any part of India for a series of years past"²⁵² In Nov. 1736 all the English prisoners excepting 3 who voluntarily entered Sambhaji's service were released.²⁵³

In Jan 1746 Tulaji Angre attacked another Europe ship the Princess Augusta near Anjengao and made prize of her after a defence of two hours and a half.²⁵⁴ She was redeemed for Rs. 6,500 in April following.²⁵⁵ On Oct. 13, 1749 he took the Restoration Grab which was cruising off his port of Cheria.²⁵⁶

Peshwa Destroys Tulaji Angre 1755-56 :

The Maratha navy under Shahu's admiral Tulaji Angre was at the height of its power. His ships regularly cruized from the Gulf of Cutch²⁵⁷ in the north to Cape Camorin²⁵⁸ in the south. He was however totally destroyed by the united forces of the English and the Peshwa in 1755-56. There were many causes of his downfall but the chief among them was the Peshwa's jealousy against the house of the Angres. Since the

249) Idem Vol. 7, PP. 184-85.

250) Bom. to Co. Jan. 22, 1732. Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 1 A, P. 392.

251) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 6, Con. Jan. 8, 1736.

252) Co. to Bom. Nov. 3, 1736. Letter Book Vol. 24, P. 11.

253) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 8, P. 442. One of the prisoners while yet in Sambhaji's custody wrote. "He (i. e. Sambhaji) talks, when he is a little elevated with Liquer that he will come against England and take it with his Grabs and Gallivats." Account of the Capture of the E. I. Co's. Ship Derby, P. 61.

254) Bom. to Bengal, March 21, 1746, Beng. Pub. Con. Vol. 18, P. 344.

255) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 15, Con. April 8, 1746.

256) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 16, Con. Oct., 24, 1749.

257) Idem Vol. 16, Con. Jan. 9, 1749.

258) Idem Vol. 15, Con. Aug. 5, 1746.

conquest of the Portuguese island of Salesette on the sea-coast (1737), Bajirao began to build a navy of his own. Within a year's time he had a number of vessels afloat²⁵⁹ It was Shahu's restraining authority that prevented open hostilities between Bajirao and his successor on one side and the Angre brothers on the other. The king's death in Dec. 1749 removed the only check upon the self aggrandizement of the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao. As soon as he had made himself secure in his post he approached the government of Bombay to destroy Tulaji an event for which the English had been awaiting eagerly for a long time. An Anglo-Maratha treaty was concluded in March 1755 and their joint forces took Suvarndurg on April 6. On Feb. 13, 1756 Tulaji's last and strongest fortress the famous Gheria alias Vijaydurg fell and the power of Shahu's admirals was destroyed by his own Peshwa.²⁶⁰

259) The first mention of this separate navy in the Bom. Pub. Cons. is made on Oct. 17, 1738. See *Idem* Vol. 9, P. 277.

260) Bom. to Co. July 22, 1755; Bom. Select Committee Con. Range D., Vol. 46; Forest Selections, Maratha Series Vol. 1, "War with Angrias".

Appendices to Chapter 4

It was an ambitious alliance that the English and the Portuguese concluded in 1721 against their common enemy, Kanhoji Angre. Its terms were settled upon, after a protracted negotiation of two years. It sheds much light on the Angre-Portuguese relations, their then designs in India and particularly their attitude, joint and several, at the Maratha navy. Hence, the more important stages in the negotiations from 1718 to 1721 are here described in details by reproducing the relevant portions from the original records.

Appendix No. 1

(English Proposals, Oct. 27, 1718.)

*Preliminary Articles proposed by the English for uniting their forces with the Portuguese against Caunojee Angria.

1. That both Parties shall interchangeably sign a League Defensive and Offensive.
2. That any place or Booty taken by the joint Force of both nations either by sea or land shall be equally divided but if such place or purchase; (?) is taken by one Party only it shall entirely appertain to the Captors.
3. The each nation shall bear their own expense in the War.
4. The design of the War being to procure satisfaction for Damages sustained by both nations from the Depredation and Pyracies of Caunojee Angria and to reduce him so as to prevent his being able to Damage either party for the Future, it shall be continued jointly till each Party receive such satisfaction and do mutually consent thereon to conclude a Peace with him or otherwise he is utterly extirpated.

5. In case any pass or Port shall be by either Party taken from the Enemy the possessor thereof shall not exact any duty for any goods or merchandize passing through or coming into such place unless the same are sold.

(sd.) Charles Boone,
President and others.

Bombay Castle

Monday, October 27, 1718.

(Bombay Public Consultations, Range 341, Vol. 4)

Appendix No. 2

(Bombay Public Consultations).

Bombay Castle

Sunday, the 18th of June, 1721.

"Received a Packet from Mr. Cowan at Goa dated the 15th of April 1721 which containing an ample account of his Proceedings with the Viceroy in relation to the proposed Alliance against Angria".

and

Articles

Proposed by the Viceroy, which were as follows.

1. That there shall be a League Offensive and Defensive made here in Asia against all the Asiatics that are Enemies to the Crowns of Portugall and England; both nations to begin a vigorous war against Conajee Angria their Enemy, not giving ear to anything of Peace and neither of these two allays shall alone or particularly act in this regard but being at the same time in conjunction, the matter shall be presented to both of them and nothing shall be resolved on that shall not be to the advantage of both nations.

2 And in case there should be an Enemy to either of the Crowns that should be a friend to the other in such case the League is only to be defensive and not to fail of any pretext whatsoever to help the invaded upon any invasion and not to make any pretext or excuse from assisting in due time.

3. And as to the uniting of the Brittannick and Portuguese Forces in their management as will by land as by sea it shall be carried on and practised in the same manner betwixt both nations as it was in Portugal in the last war with Spain.

(In his accompanying letter Mr. Gowan explained this Article as follows :

"In the Spanish War the Generals-in-Chief commanded alternately day about. The Inferior officers upon Detachment and Partys according to their Commissions").

4. That all that are auxiliary Troops shall be under the commission of the Succored or relieved Party and upon all occasions of Combat and Distress the Officer shall govern that has the chiefest Patent or Commission and shall concur equally with one that hath an older Commission, let him be English or Portuguese.

5. That the auxiliary Troops shall be supported and paid by their Sovereign as well on land as sea to avoid disorders that may happen.

6. That whatsoever be taken by both the nations united shall be for them and divided to the very Hull of the Ship and ammunition equally, carried to any port of either nation that shall be nearest when the Prize shall be taken; their commandant sending such persons as are proper to manage that affair of selling, recovering the product and paying the proportions respectively; and the same shall be practised at land with this difference that those things shall be carried up to the Camp where the Dividends shall be made in all things that are not Cattle; for that ought to be for the officers and soldiers.

7. That in case any Port or Garrison shall be taken from Angria the Possessor shall not take Custom on any goods or merchandize that shall be imported in said port or Garrison.

8. That each nation shall put two thousand men in the field with officers in proportion; and the Horse that either the one of the other hath shall be ready; and if there should be a necessity for a greater body of Foot it shall be performed equally on both sides.
9. That each Body or Party shall spend their own ammunition on account of their Sovereign and if either should want, they shall be supplied by the party that has, at a just and due price or in what else shall be necessary.
10. That Culabo with all its territories and Dominions and all that belongs to it shall be for the Crown of Portugall; and that Gereah and whatsoever belong thereto for the Crown of England; and if they will not accept it then it shall be demolished to the very last stone which shall be the fate of all others that have any Defence; that an equal Dividend be made of all Artillery ammunition.
11. That all soldiers who shall desert from one Dominion to the other shall be restored; for which purpose only a representation shall be made by the Government of the Fugitives to the Government whether they fly; and when any one has deserted he shall be detained in order to be delivered up.
12. That as to slaves of either nation and Corumbees of each other country which are fugitives, a speedy restitution shall be made of them on demand when they fly from one country to another.
13. That if any theft happen on either side when full proof is made restitution shall be made presently to whom it belongs.
14. That a murderer and criminal meriting death flying to either Crowns for protection shall not be restored.
15. These fifteen Articles being ratified and signed of which this League consists it ought to be considered by the projectors how to begin in order to obtain the End.

(Bombay Public Consultations, Range 341, Vol.5).

Appendix No. 3.

Bombay Castle

Friday, the 23rd June 1721

(In a letter of the above date to Mr. Robert Cowan "of Council and Resident for affairs of the British nation at Goa". The Government of Bombay made the following observations upon the foregoing Articles.)

To the 1st Article -

Agreed with this exception that the King of Persia, Arabia, China nor the Territories of the Mogull be not understood and we expressly forbid you consenting on other terms.

To the 2nd -

We agree with the Exceptions above mentioned; that is excepting the King of Persia, Arabia, China and the Grand Mogull and provided the exigency of our affairs will permit.

To the 3rd -

We cannot consent on other terms than that each Commander in Chief Command alternately, and this is from a principle of Prudence as well as Honour, being well assured our officers and soldiers will not act with alacrity should they be put under their (meaning the Portuguese) commander entirely, which must be the case should we come into this proposal. For all the officers by land or by sea act by virtue of their commissions they receive from the Chief Governor or Governor General of this Colony who by the Charter from the King has an authority to grant them as much as any Captain General of his Majesty's Armys by Land or by Sea. And as all which our Governor will give on this occasion will be new (he having power to give them any Title under Captain General) they must give place to the Portuguese which we are apprehensive might have fatal consequences. For when Troops do not enter the field with mutual regard and respect to each other little good is to be expected from a junction - If the Viceroy enters the Field in person our Governor will not dispute giving him the first Day. But as our nation are to bear a greater preparation of the Charges and as our number of European soldiers and seamen will be more considerable (for we well known what

Troops they have and how they are paid) he will expect it the next; and that each nation alternately take the Post of Honour, as the Governor of this Island is on the Foot of a Captain General the Viceroy is no more, notwithstanding his superior title.

To the 4th Article we have no objection.

To the 5th no objection.

To the 6th

We reply, if a Prize be carried the first time to a Portuguese Port the next shall be to British one or to any place where the nation has a Factory. And if any ship or ships of either nation make a prize or separately such prize shall remain to the Captors.

To the 7th Agreed.

To the 8th

We say we doubt not but to make our Force two thousand including Sepoys to be kept up no longer than the exigency of affairs shall require. What Horse we have will attend more especially if the Governor goes in person.

The 9th Article - is agreed to -

The 10th Article -

It is agreed to with these exceptions that we shall have a House or Factory at Culabo if we think proper and that half the Territories. The Artillery and Ammunition shall belong to us or an equivalent to our satisfaction with the Island of Cunary or Cundry and Gereah, on the same terms provided we approve keeping the latter place; if not it shall be demolished at the expence of both nations.

To the 11th -

Agreed though we think it would be proper that Deserters have pardon secure before they are returned and do except against returning any in our service before the Ratification of the Treaty.

To the 12th -

We can by no means agree without the passage of Tannah and Caranjsh are opened and a free liberty is given us to pass all their rivers, creeks and harbours Duty free, unless our vessels be unladen The customs and other Dutys exacted from us at Tannsh etc. are as follows :

Custom three Per cent	3 p.c.
Additional custom do	3 p.c.
For anole to passs	
each Boate half a Xeraphin	$\frac{1}{2}$ x
Xeraphin	$\frac{1}{2}$ x
* Xeraphin	x
Anchorage half a	
Xeraphin	$\frac{1}{3}$ x
Fees 72 Raes+	72 Raes

Which is nearest $6\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. All Boats that go from Bombay to Gallian loaded whether they unlade or no pay these Dutys.

To the 13 th	Agreed.
To the 14 th	Agreed.
To the 15 th	

These Articles being agreed with the exceptions above we are ready to enter on the operations and shall on the meantime be providing on our side.

(Bombay Public Consultations, Range 341, Vol. 5)

-
- * An old Goanese coin, in value somewhat less than is 6d, (Hobson- Jobson).
 - * Small money of account formerly in use at Bombay, the 25th part of an Anna and 400th of a Rupee (Idem).

Appendix No.4.

Bombay Castle

Thursday, the 7th Sept. 1721.

(Entry)

"Mr. Cowan from Goa gives us the good news of his concluding the Treaty with the Viceory conformable to the amendments we have sent him from hence. Copy of the Articles were enclosed and the original signed by his Excellency was transmitted by the General of the North in order to be interchanged with the Governor."

(Bombay Public Consultations, Range 341, Vol. 5, P. 35)

Appendix No. 5

The full text of the final treaty was as follows.

1. There will be an offensive and defensive alliance in this (continent of) Asia against all Asiatics (powers) that may be enemies of the two Crowns of Portugal and Great Britain, except the Mughal Emperor and the King of Persia, Arabia and China. The two nations will immediately commence a vigorous war against the Angria. In concluding any treaty the Angria will not be heard and neither of the allies will listen to anything touching peace unless the term proposed is simultaneously presented to both the allies and nothing will be decided without the compliance of both the nations.
2. If in a given case the enemy of one of the two Crowns happens to be the friend of the other, the alliance will be only a defensive one. But neither Party should fail on any pretext to help the other when attacked in case of any invasion.
3. As regards the union of the British and the Portuguese forces for operation by land as well as by sea, the same rule will operate between the two powers as was followed in the last war against Spain, to wit, the General of the two Nations shall command on

alternate days, provided that the Viceroy does not come to the Camp, and in the place of honour, one in one battlefield and the other in the next.

4. That the auxiliary troops that may be sent for succour (reinforcement) in all detachments and on all occasions of fighting shall be commanded by officers holding higher commissions whether they are English or Portuguese.
5. The auxiliary troops shall be paid and be maintained by their own sovereign as well on land as in the sea.
6. That all that may be captured in this War in the sea by the two allied nations on the same occasion, shall be by them divided (not excluding) even the munitions and things of importance, the said spoils being first conducted to a port in the Portuguese dominion, and next to a port in the dominion of Great Britain, and all other things will go alternately (to the ports of the Portuguese and the English). The same practice will be pursued on the land only with this difference that the spoils will be taken to the camp where everything except cattle will be divided by the officers and soldiers of the two nations.
7. That in case goods belonging to any of the (two) nations enter the ports or strongholds that may be taken from the said enemy (Angria). They will not pay duties for the commodities they may carry there but duties will be taken only for what is sold in the said ports and strongholds.
8. That each nation shall put in the field two thousand infantry with officers in proportion, and with cavalry that may be ready. If necessary a bigger body of infantry will be put in the field by both the parties. In the sea five Ships will be put by each side with smaller vessels as may be necessary.
9. Each corps whether on land or on the sea shall spend (use) munitions on its sovereign's account. In case one of them requires while the other possesses it, the necessary quantity shall be given at a just price.
10. That the fortress of Colaba and the district under its jurisdiction

shall belong to the Crown of Portugal, the subjects of Great Britain shall maintain there a house like it (the fortress ?). The fortress of Griom and the district under its jurisdiction shall belong to the Crown of Great Britain and the subjects of the Crown of Portugal shall maintain there a house like it. In case the subjects of the Crown of Great Britain desire to demolish the said fortress of Griom, it will be done by both the nations and in that case the artillery and munitions shall be partitioned by the two nations and an equivalent (share) will be given to the subjects of Great Britain out of Colaba and its jurisdiction, in which the Island of Candrim (Kenery) will be counted.

11. That all soldiers who may desert from one dominion to the other shall be restored without taking them into service. More than one representation from the governor of the country whence they have fled to the governor of the country where they have fled, forgiving the deserters their offence will (sic.) be necessary for their restoration.
12. If spoils are taken from the country of either of the nations, they shall be after proofs have been produced at once restored to the owner.
13. That those deserters, who may seek the protection of either of the Crowns, after committing in the country they had left a capital offence, shall not be restored.
14. That after these fourteen articles of alliance have been ratified, the execution of the project will be undertaken, reserving for their Majestys of Portugal and Great Britain for ever all the rights they claim - Goa, 20th August 1721. (N.S.). Joao Rodrigues Machado.

(Biker, Tomo III, PP. 243-244. Translated and quoted in A Preliminary report on the Historical Records at Goa, PP. 65-66.)

Chapter 5

The extension of the Maratha power during Shahu's reign

Shahu ruled longer than any one of his predecessors or successors. His long reign of over 41 years was a boon to the Marathas Raj. It was during this period that the natives of Maharashtra, for the first time in their history, marched triumphantly in almost every part of India excepting the extreme North. The growth of their power on the sea is noticed in the last chapter; their wars with the Portuguese and the Sidis - events, which happened on the border of their home country will be described in the next. Here it is intended to give a brief chronological account of the extension of their power and the progress of their arms in all other directions. This rapid expansion of their Raj was primarily at the cost of the Mughal empire. The emperor was the nominal lord of most of the country, but his authority had declined, and the empire itself was falling to pieces. It is therefore necessary to recount first the condition of this empire, at the time of and after Shahu's enthronement at Satara (March 1703).

1. Condition of the Mughal empire (1708-1749).

Succession troubles, 1707-09.

The great emperor Aurangzib died in his camp at Ahmadnagar.

On Feb. 20¹, 1707. He left a will with directions to divide the kingdom of his vast empire between his three sons, viz., Muhamed Mazzam

1) This date is given both by Sir J. Sarkar (Aurangzeb, Vol. V, P. 257) and by W. Irvine (Later Mughals, Vol. 1, P. 1) and there is no reason to doubt it. But on March 3, Bombay wrote to the Company, "By way of Callian (i.e. Kalyan) but three days by express from Court. We have been informed by a great Mulla (Muhammedan Priest) — (that) the 16th departed that great Conqueror, who by said Mulla and others was opened and Embalmed, all which was kept private 5 or 6 days by the Emperors Daughters and declared not till the 22nd do." (O. C. 8477). Fort William informed the Company on Oct. 13. "The Mohull aged 93 years

(Shah Alam), who was his eldest surviving son and who, at that time was the Subahdar of Kabul; Azam Shah, who was next in age and who then was on his way from Ahmadnagar to Malwa; and Muhammed Kam Bakhsh, who was the youngest and whom the late emperor had made the Subahdar of Bijapur on Feb. 5.² Azam Shah was within marching distance of his father's death place. At the first news of the event he rushed back to Ahmadnagar, seized "the old man's jewels ... Treasury, artillery and army".³ and ascended the throne (March 3).⁴ "Upon the 5th or 6th of April, he began his march towards Hindostan, hoping to get to one of the two Capital Cities Viz to Dehlie or Agra before the eldest brother; but he failed, for being advanced near the banks of Chumpull (Chambal), he finds his brothers with his army to be encamped on the other side."⁵ On June 8 (which was Trinity Sunday), a fierce battle was fought about 10 Kms from Agra.⁶ Azam Shah and his two sons were killed, and about 40,000 men lost their lives on both sides.⁷

The victorious Shah Alam, who is better known in history as Bahadur Shah, was proclaimed emperor on the day he heard the news of his father's death (March 11, 1707).⁸ On his march towards Hindostan

dyd 14th February." (Coast and Bay Abstract Letters, Vol. 1, P. 139). A Madras letter of Jan. 8, 1708 said that Aurangzeb died on Tuesday, Feb. 18, "between 12 and one in the afternoon." (O. C. 8555A). An earlier Madras letter (Oct. 10) said, "The 15th March received. News the Mogull dyd the 20th Feb." (Coast and Bay Abstract Letters Vol. 1, P. 116). On May 9, 1707 Sir John Gayar wrote to the Company from Surat, "Copies of my last — advising the death of the King Aurangzeb (go herewith) —; I esteemed myself obliged to write darkly about it, fearing as it went by land to Bombay, it might fall into ill hands; but it was soon after made public by Azum Tarra" (the emperor's second surviving son). (Factory Records, Surat Vol. 101).

The differences disclosed in those accounts are only natural, because some of them were based on mere reports. But it is quite clear that the news of the emperor's death was suppressed for a few days after it occurred. In this connection the first mentioned Bombay letter is very important. That Settlement was the nearest to the scene and their source of information was the very priest who had charge of the dead emperor's body. Its letter therefore might contain a secret news which the Muslim historians (who give the date as Feb. 20) might have been ignorant of.

- 2) O. C. 8452; O. C. 8555A; Later Mughals Vol. 1, PP. 3-6.
- 3) Surat to Co. May 9, 1707. F. R. Surat Vol. 101.
- 4) O. C. 8555A; Later Mughals Vol. 1, P. 8.
- 5) O. C. 8555A.
- 6) Idem. The battle-field was 4m. N. E. Jajau (Later Mughals Vol. 1, P. 25; footnote), which latter place is situated in Lat. 20°29' and Long. 76°14'. (Thomson).
- 7) Fort William to Co. Oct. 13, 1707. Coast and Bay Abstract Letters, Vol. 1, P. 139.
- 8) He heard the news at Jamrud, about 1400 m. from Ahmadnagar, where his father died. Later Mughals Vol. 1, P. 18.

he enthroned himself at Lahor on April 22.⁹ His victory over Azam Shah did not settle the question of succession. While he was busy in the north, his other brother Kam Bakhsh, then in the south, "proclaimed himself king of Vigepoor (Bijapur) and Beragur (Bhaganagar or Hyderabad) left him by Aurangzeb".¹⁰ Bahadur Shah marched in person against Kam Bakhsh and, in Sept. 1708, arrived within 12 days journey from Golconda.¹¹ On Oct. 13 he wrote to Mr. Pitt, the governor of Port St. George, "If Mahomud Caawn Bux (Kam Bakhsh) should have a design to fly by way of the sea, that they (i.e. the English) will not let him be able to do it, but do their endeavors to deliver him killed or prisoner into the hands of Power"¹² (i.e. the emperor). But Kam Bakhsh did not fly; he gave a battle near Hyderabad on Jan. 3, 1709.¹³ In the fight that ensued he and his son were mortally wounded, and Bahadur Shah was again successful. A Maratha army under Nemaji Shinde was at the emperor's request, sent to his help by Shahu, and it fought on his side during this action.¹⁴ The emperor generously rewarded the Maratha leader for his services.¹⁵

Further succession troubles, 1712-13 :

Such fratricidal wars had become constant features of the successions to the empire. Fort St. George wrote to the Company on Aug. 20, 1711, "The Mogull Shaslem is weak prince — (his) 4 sons are near the Court waiting opportunity to Struggle for the Empire".¹⁶ Shah Alam "departed this Life at his Court at Lahore the 16th Feb. (1712) at 3 O' clock in the after-noon".¹⁷ His four sons immediately betook to arms

9) Idem P. 135.

10) O. C. 8525.

11) Fort William to Co. Nov. 6, 1708; Coast and Bay Abstract Letters Vol. 1, P. 155

12) Mad. Pub. Con. Range 239, Vol. 84, PP. 124-25.

The emperor again wrote on Dec. 19 to the same purport, adding that his command was "Strict in the strictest manner". (Idem P. 166). The emperor's letters are given in the said Consultations and so is the governor's answer to the effect that he would use his utmost endeavours in obeying the commands. Yet G. Duff says that the emperor's general Zulfiqar Khan offered Mr. Pitt 2 lakhs of rupees for that service which he refused to take. (History Vol. 1, P. 347)

13) Bom. to Co. April 30, 1709. Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 1 P. 134. W. Irvin gives the date as Jan. 23, 2 (Later Mughals Vol. 1, P. 62).

14) Khafi Khan, Elliot Vol. VII, P. 408; Sardesai Riyasat Madhya Vibhag Vol.1, P. 23.

15) Khafi Khan, Idem.

16) Coast and Bay Abstract Letters Vol. 1, PP. 293-94.

17) Bang. Pub. Con. Vol. 2, Con. March 12, 1712.

and a quantity of blood was shed during the next 30 days.¹⁸ On March 18 his eldest son, Jahandar Shah enthroned himself on the battlement outside Lahore.¹⁹ Meanwhile, Farrukh-siyar, the new sovereign's brother's son proclaimed his succession to the empire (Feb. 24)²⁰ and was "acknowledged as King at Patna".²¹ He extorted money from the rich men of the city even the Dutch and English Factories were forced to contribute their shares²² ... and raised a large army. The two Sayyid brothers Abdullah Khan and Hussain Ali Khan, who were then in the governments of Allahabad and Bihar, espoused his cause. With their assistance he marched forth to Agra where a deciding battle was fought on Dec. 30.²³ The person of Jahandar Shah was secured and his life taken on Jan. 31, 1713.²⁴ Next day the new emperor Farrukh-siyar marched in state in the capital city of Delhi.²⁵

Even bloodier contests for succession arose in 1719. On Feb. 17 of that year the Sayyid brothers deposed Farrukh-siyar,²⁶ and placed a prince named Rafi-ud-darjat on the throne.²⁷ Another prince, by name

18) See Idem Cons. March 25, April 7 & June 3; Fort William to Co. Dec. 10, 1712. Coast and Bay Abstract Letters Vol. 1, PP. 386-87.

19) Later Mughals Vol. 1, P. 186.

Referring to this new emperor Patna wrote to Fort William on April 13, 1712. "That the other three Brothers with their children both great and small are killed, and very Barbarous having killed his second Brother's youngest son with his own hand and had ordered all the women that were with child by the prince to be ript up and not to spare any of the Omrahs (nobles) that were for the other Partys of whom four were killed the first day he set on the Throne". Beng. Pub. Con. Vol. 2, Con. April 24, 1712.

20) Later Mughals, Vol. 1, P. 398.

21) Patna to Fort William, April 13, 1712; Beng. Pub. Con. Vol. 2, Con. April 24. Till he became the actual emperor, Farrukh-siyar was called "Patna King" by the English Factors.

22) The Dutch paid two lakhs of rupees, the English 22,000 and "great sums (were) Extorted from all the Merchants". Patna to Fort William, Oct. 16, 1712. Beng. Pub. Con. Vol. 2.

23) Later Mughals Vol. 1, P. 229.

24) Idem P. 240

25) Fort St. George wrote to the Company on Sept. 16, 1713.

"The new King is about 26 years old, is reputed brave, prudent, Generous; (he) is the last of Aurangzeb's race except some young children in Goallor (Gwalior) Fort Prison whence they never come out but their senses destroyed by Potions." Coast and Bay Abstract Letters Vol. 1, P. 418.

26) For details of the revolution and the part the Marathas took in it, Vide infra.

27) Later Mughals Vol. 1, PP. 382-88, 404. In a Firman which this new sovereign sent to his Viceroy of Bengal after he ascended the throne, he wrote, "The mad fool (i.e. Farrukh - siyar) has received his punishment, he is seized and his Eyes are put out, the Throne of the Empire is illustrated by me." Beng. Pub. Con. Vol. 4, Con. March 19, 1719. On May 5, 1719 Fort William informed the Company "The new Kings Siccas (rupees) are already coined in all the Mints; he is not above 16 years old; the Grad Vizier (Abdulla Khan) like to govern all. Furruck Seir razed out of Register of their Kings". Coast and Bay Abstract Letters Vol. 2, P. 209. Farrukh-Siyar was put to death on the night between the 16th and the 17th April. Later Mughals, Vol. 1, P. 392.

Neksiyar, was done the honour of being enthroned by another party (May 7), and fierce fightings ensued between the two factions.²⁸ While these hostilities were in progress, the Sayyids deposed Nafi-ud-darjat (May 24) and crowned his elder bother. Rafi-ud-daulah (May 26).²⁹ Neksiyar surrendered on Aug. 11, and the Sayyids got rid of him; but the new sovereign, Rafi-ud-daulah suddenly died on Sep. 17, 1719 the Prince Roshan Aktar, a grandson of Bahadur Shah, was chosen and proclaimed as emperor under the title of Muhammad Shah.³⁰ After a long reign of over 23 years Muhammad Shah died on April. 15, 1748.³¹ Next day his eldest son Ahmad Shah ascended the throne,³² and was still the emperor when Shahu died in Dec. 1749.

Decline of the Empire :

Thus during the twelve years that followed Aurangzeb's death, as many as seven³³ bloody battles were fought, a number of princes of royal blood killed, and numberless men perished. But the Mughal empire was quite used to such destructive shocks of dynastic wars, and these alone would not have brought its downfall. Other and more potent causes were working in that direction.

Weak emperor :

The emperors who adorned Aurangzeb's throne were mere weaklings. "The authority of the reigning Mogul" wrote the Viceroy of Goa on Sept. 9, 1741 "does not extend beyond the harem or serai, nor does he has a good provision of wine and strong liquor, he does not care whether his armies are numerous and faithful to his generals".³⁴ "The Empire is" wrote Fort William to the Company on Jan. 29, 1729 "all in Confusion. The King minds only his diversions and is governed by a few favourites."³⁵ This was exactly the character of all later Mughals.

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- 28) Beng. to Co. May 23, 1719, Miscellaneous Letters Received Vol. 10, No. 108. This letter was written to give only this "surprizing news from the Court".
- 29) Later Mughals Vol. 1, P. 418. This disposed King died on May 31. (Idem). W. Irvine suggests that he died of consumption; but a bulletin issued after his death ascribed it to small-pox. Sel. Beng. Pub. Con. Vol. 4, P. 178.
- 30) Later Mughals Vol. 1, PP. 426, 431; Vol. 2, PP. 1-2.
- 31) Asiatic Society of Bengal, (New Series) Vol. III, P. 57sqq.
- 32) Idem.
- 33) Later Mughals Vol. 2, P. 307.
- 34) MSS. Portuguese Records, Conselho Ultramarinho Vol. 1, Pt. 1.
- 35) Coast and Bay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 1, P. 484.

Oppression of government officers :

Worse than this personal incapacity of the ruler was the oppression of the government officers, for which he himself was responsible, "The King", reads the Bombay Public Consultation of Nov. 29, 1723, "now sells the Governour their Places. Besides, they are at other Considerable charges to his Omrahs (nobles) in making Interest to obtain them. That Momeen Caun (the then governor of Surat) gave the King two Lack (lakh) of rupees and two Lack more to his patrons for their Interest. Besides, he (i.e. the Surat governor) is at Continual charges of Preserve it lest the King sells it speedily to another. This (? thus) its expected he (i.e. the governor) must levy under his Government".³⁶ Every high officer had a patron at the court, to whom as well as to the king he had to pay large sum. The officer reimbursed himself by fleecing the emperor. As the case of the Malwa shows, the oppressed natives approached such enemies of the empire as the Marathas, and openly assisted them to get possession of their country.³⁷

"Dissolution" of the empire :

The weakness in the rulers encouraged the growth of factions, whose mutual jealousies, enmities and open ruptures kept the empire in a state of continuous convulsion; and capable men began to seek their own fortunes. "As to the unhappy troubles" wrote the Company to Fort St. George on Jan. 13, 1714 "in the Mogul's Dominions occasioned by parties contending for absolute government of the whole, we know not what to say but to submit to the present in hopes of better times".³⁸ Those better times never came. On March. 7, 1729 they wrote to Bombay, "we observe with great concern that the troubles in the Mogul's Dominions annually increase; they are the surest indication of a weak Government

36) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 5, P. 235.

Similarly the Surat Diary of April 17, 1727 contains the following entry. "The Chief received a letter from our Vakeel at Court (at Delhi) advising that the Government of Surat was conferred on Tage Bag Caun by the Solicitations of Jiwan Chugal who promised to pay into the King's Treasury four hundred Thousand Rupees; and its said that --- the late Governours Vakeel is making Interest to have him Reinstated in the Government, and that if he can pay so much as Rupees four hundred Thousand into said Treasury, its believed that he may come to it again". Factory Records, Surat Vo. 12, PP. 74 - 75.

37) In Sir Malcolm's Central India, Vol. 1, PP. 82-85 (footnote), an interesting and apparently trustworthy account of how Malwa was delivered to the Marathas by its natives (1728). Is given in the words of an aged grandson of the Chandhari of Indore, who was prominently working in the Interest of the Marathas.

38) Letter Book Vol. 15, P. 70.

tending to a dissolution".³⁹ Since that time, in almost every letter they wrote to India, the Company referred to the growing decay of the emperor's power. On July. 29, 1741 they ordered their servants at Fort William. "As affairs in the Mogul Empire are in a very precarious Situation. We would have our several Settlements be put and kept in the best Posture of Defence".⁴⁰ They sent similar orders to the rest of their Factories in India.

If a commercial company with a limited interest in the country's future were so keenly watching the affairs of the empire, the Marathas, who were progressively extending the boundaries of their possessions, must have been eagerly looking for every opportunity. After Bahadur Shah's death in 1712 the gentlemen at Bombay wrote, "The Sevajees (i.e. Marathas) will make Pretensions to the greater part of this kingdom".⁴¹ Before the late emperor's grandson, Muhammed Shah died in 1748, the Marathas not only made "pretensions" but acquired the greater part of that kingdom.

2. Principal Maratha Leaders, and the nature of Maratha invasions (1708-1749)

The men who carried the Maratha arms and spread Shahu's name far and wide were numberless. Their generals - and they were not a few - permanently made their names in the history of their country. Most of the founders of the present Maratha Native States rose to power during Shahu's reign. Free scope was given to personal bravery and enterprise, and a rich prize in the form of an extensive Saranjam (fief) awaited a successful invasion. A number of leaders therefore came forth, who served their king as much as they served their own ends. It is not possible to give even a biographical sketch of each; only a few are noticed here.

Balaji Vishvanath, (c.1660-1720) :

The first Bhat Peshwa, Balaji Vishvanath, was born about 1660 at the village of Harihareshwar.⁴² The Bhat family migrated from the Konkan into the Maratha country before 1679, and within a short period Balaji rose to prominence in the new kingdom. He was an officer of high rank

39) Idem Vol. 21, P. 450.

40) Idem Vol. 25, P. 440.

41) Bom. to Co. March 25, 1712, Bombay Letters Received, Vol. 1.

42) Vide Infra PP. 73, 75.

in Poona district in 1699 and held even a superior post in Daulatabad district in 1703-04. He joined Shahu in Dec. 1707, was made Senakarte (Maker of armies) in March 1708, and was given a large Saranjam on Aug. 21, 1711. In Nov. 1713 Shahu's Peshwa Bahiropanth Pingale was made prisoner by Kanhoji Angre. Shahu instantly appointed Balaji to that office (Nov. 17).⁴³ In 1718 the king and Sayyid Husain Ali, the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan, entered into a treaty which the emperor Farrukhsiyar refused to ratify. Husain Ali sought Shahu's help and the king despatched Balaji with numerous troops. The Peshwa set out for Delhi in Nov. 1718 and entered the capital on the following Feb. 20. After a successful march he returned to Satara on July 4 (⁴⁴ 1719). He then went on a minor expedition ⁴⁵ to the south (Nov. 1719 - March 1720), and on his return died suddenly at Saswad* on April 2, 1720.⁴⁶ Balaji was a soldier of fortune but had no uncommon ability.

Bajirao (c.1688-1740) :

Bajirao, Balaji's eldest surviving son was born about 1688.⁴⁷ He went to Delhi with his father (June 1718 - May 1719) and accompanied him on his southern expedition (Nov. 1719 - March 1720) when he conducted his own marches.⁴⁸ On April 18, 1720 Shahu appointed him to his father's office.⁴⁹ In Dec. 1721 he went to the help of Kanhoji Angre, who was then besieged at Kolaba by the united forces of the English and the Portuguese. On the 30th the Peshwa made a favorable treaty with the Viceroy of Goa and Kanhoji was relieved.⁵⁰ In 1723 he made his first entry in the north which later became the chief scene of his actions.⁵¹ On Sept. 30, 1724 he fought on the side of Nizam-ul-mulk in a decisive battle,⁵² and thus in a sense helped him to establish an independent kingdom in the Deccan, which became a thorn in the flesh of the Maratha State. Sometime later he made two marches into the south; one during Dec. 1725 to May 1726, and the other during Nov. 1726 to April 1727.

43) Vide infra PP. 75-77, 84.

44) Balaji's diary of the expedition, Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, PP. 247-265.

45) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 7, Entry Nos. 34-37. All are Balaji's own orders during this expedition.
* About 18m. S. R. Poona.

46) Sardesai, Riyasat Madhya Vibhag Vol. 1, P. 124.

47) Vividha - Dnyan Vistar, May 1929, P. 184.

48) Idem.

49) Shahu's Diary P. 42.

50) Noticias da India Vol. 2, Pt. 1, PP. 91-95.

51) See his Itinerary at the end of Vol. 2, of Balaji Bajirao's Diary.

52) Vide infra.

On the second occasion he went up to Sriramgatam, which city he entered on March 6, 1727.⁵³ In 1729 he relieved Raja Chhatrasal of Bundelkhand from Mughal attacks, and had an audience with the Raja on March 13.⁵⁴ From Nov. 1735 his expeditions in the north increased in number, and on March 28, 1737 he reached the gates of Delhi. "I would have easily burnt down that city" wrote he to his brother on April 5 "but it is a great place".⁵⁵ He died on April 28, 1740 at Raver, to the south of Indore and on the bank of the Narbada.⁵⁶ The best that can be said about Bajirao is that he was a great general. He distinguished himself by his rough martial spirit.

Chimaji Appa (c. 1698 - 1740)

Chimaji Appa, Bajirao's younger brother was born about 1696. The first mention of his encampment on a battlefield is of June 7, 1720.⁵⁷ On June 19, 1728 Shahu made him the deputy of the peshwa.⁵⁸ In Oct. 1723 he set out on an expedition into Malwa, which ended in two decisive battles, one in November, in which Giridhar Bahadar, the Mughal Subhadar, was killed; and the other in December when Daya Bahadar, the late Subhadar's cousin and successor met the same fate.⁵⁹ During the next twelve months he went through Gujarat and in 1732-33 made an entry in Bundelkhand.⁶⁰ On April 19, 1736 he won a great victory over Sidi Satal of Janjira, whom he killed in a battle.⁶¹ The chief claim to fame was his capture of the Portuguese island of Salsette on March 28, 1737, and his conquest of Bassein on May 5, 1739.⁶² After a short but glorious career he died on Dec. 17, 1740⁶³ Of the two brothers Chimaji Appa was more successful in his battles and, certainly, could better conduct negotiations.

53) Bajirao's Halts, Balaji Bajirao's Diary Vol. 2, P. 227.

54) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, P. 288.

55) Life and Lettes of Brahmendra Swami, Letter No. 27.

56) Sardesai, Riyasat Madhya Vibhag Vol. 1, P. 391.

57) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, P. 265.

58) Shahu's Diary P. 48.

59) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 22, P. 5, (His halts for the year); Idem Vol. 13, Entry Nos. 23 and 27 (Letters to Chimaji).

60) Idem Vol. 30, Entry No. 319 (His halts for the year).

61) Idem Vol. 3, Entry No. 192 (His halts to Bajirao).

62) Vide Supra Chapt. 6.

63) Sardesai, Riyasat Madhya Vibhag Vol. 1, P. 392.

Balaji Bajirao (1721-1761) :

Balaji Bajirao alias Nanasaheb, the eldest surviving son of Bajirao was born on Dec. 6, 1721⁶⁴ The greater part of his childhood was spent in Shahu's court at Satara and his mind was early saturated with political ideas. Shahu appointed him Peshwa when he was but eighteen (June 25, 1740).⁶⁵ From Dec. 18, 1741 to July 30, 1743 he went on memorable expeditions in Malwa, Benares and Bengal. The next year also he undertook a similar campaign and conquered 'Bhelsa*' on March 22, 1745.⁶⁶ During the following five years he remained near the king at Satara. Shahu died on Dec. 15, 1749; but before his death he issued two orders by which he made the Peshwa the permanent head of the government and authorized him to choose a successor to the throne.⁶⁷ Ramraja, the supposed grandson of Tarabai, was selected as an heir and proclaimed as a king on Jan. 4, 1750. A sort of civil strife broke out between Tarabai and Balaji Bajirao each of whom endeavoured to be the real ruler. The next ten years (1751-1761) witnessed political events of grave importance which occurred in the south as well as in the north. On 1755-56 the peshwa joined hands with the English at Bombay and destroyed the power of the Angres. On Aug. 1, 1760 the Marathas seized Delhi; but on Jan. 14, 1761⁶⁸ their arms met a severe reverse in the battle of Panipat. Balaji Bajirao died on June 23, 1761.⁶⁹ He was an able son of an abler father.

Fattasing Bhosale, (c. 1693 - 1760) :

Fattasing Bhosale, the adopted son of Shahu and the founder of the present Native State of Akalkot, was born about 1693.⁷⁰ Shahu took him under his protection in 1707 and conferred on him the first Jagir on July 7, 1708.⁷¹ He undertook an expedition in the Karnatak in 1726 when Bajirao acted as the second in command.⁷² In April 1733 he was despatched with others against the Sidis of Janjira, and he took part in

64) Idem P. 391.

65) Shahu's Diary Entry No. 103.

66) Sardesai, Riyasat Madhya Vibhag Vol. 2, P. 61.

* A town in the present Gwalior State, then a strategic post.

67) Vide Supra Chapt. 7.

68) Sardesai, Riyasat Madhya Vibhag Vol. 3, P. 149.

69) Idem P. 234.

70) Vide Infra P. 54, n. 1.

71) Itihas Sangrah, Peshwa Daftar P. 12.

72) Rajwade Vol. 2, Preface.

that war intermittently for the following three years.⁷³ What made him more famous and known even to the European Settlements was his own and Raghuji Bhosale's march in the south, and conquest of Trichinopoly (March 13, 1741).⁷⁴ On Nov. 8, 1744 Shahu made him the commandant of that province.⁷⁵ In 1748 he accompanied Raghuji Bhosale in his yearly incursion in Bengal.⁷⁶ On March 3, 1749 Shahu issued a Sanad by which he confirmed Fattesing's status as an adopted prince and the Jagir formerly given him.⁷⁷ Soon after Shahu's death however the Peshwa, Balaji Bajirao, deprived Fattesing of the best part of his lands.⁷⁸ The latter was never a man of vigorous action, and he suffered the loss meekly. He died on Nov. 20, 1760.⁷⁹

Raghuji Bhosale (1695-1755) :

Raghuji Bhosale, who was the real founder of the kingdom of Nagpur, (which lapsed to the British Government in 1861) was born on March 7, 1695.⁸⁰ He is better known by his official title, Sena-Sahib-Subha (commander-in-chief), which Shahu conferred on him on Feb. 3, 1723.⁸¹ His cousin Kanhoji, the son of Parasoji - who joined Shahu in 1707 and served him well till he died in 1709 - held a post of equal rank at Shahu's court. The cousins fell out and Kanhoji, in a fit of anger, deserted Shahu on April 26, 1736. Shahu then put Raghuji in charge of the province of Berar (Oct. 13, 1737).⁸² Within two years Raghuji succeeded in establishing the King's authority in the whole of that country. In 1740 he and Fattesing undertook a campaign in the south, and engaged Nabob Dost Ali Khan in a battle in which the Nabob was killed (May 9).⁸³ The Marathas took the town of Arcot without opposition and plundered it. The two generals again appeared in those parts in 1741 and took Trichinopoly. In 1742 Raghuji made his first irruption in Bengal, which province, after that year, became the chief place of his exploits. In Feb. 1743 the Peshwa, Balaji Bajirao, intruded into his field and had

73) Shahu's Diary PP. 21-22.

74) Fort St. George to Co. Sept. 26, 1741, Public Despatches to England Vol. XIII, P. 12.

75) Itihas Sangrah, Dec. 1910, P. 11 (Shahu's Sanad in full).

76) Parasnis, Treaties, Agreements and Sanads I, PP. 221-22.

77) Itihas Sangrah, Dec. 1910, P. 11. (Shahu's order to Fattesing).

78) Idem P. 177-79 (Fattesing's Letters to Peshwa).

79) Sardesai, Riyasat Madhya Vibhag Vol. 3, P. 272.

80) Mar. Mss. India Office Library.

81) Idem.

82) Idem.

83) Mad. Pub. Con. Range 240, Vol. 4, Con. May 12, 1740.

the temerity to attack him.⁸⁴ Next year Shahu ended their quarrel by making a division of the north-eastern provinces between the Peshwa and the Senasahib-Subha.⁸⁵ Raghuji's raids upon Bengal continued till 1751, but he failed to make a conquest of the province. His power was firmly established in Berar, and he was content with the receipt of Chauthai or quarter part of revenues from other places. He died on Feb. 14, 1755.⁸⁶

Pilaji Jadhav (d. 1751) :

Pilaji Jadhav was perhaps the only general, who joined Shahu in 1708⁸⁷ and lived long enough to serve him throughout his reign. He distinguished himself in the valiant defence he made of Angre's fortress of Alibagh in Dec. 1721, against the combined attack of the English and the Portuguese.⁸⁸ Afterwards he acted as the second in command of either Bajirao or Chimaji Appa, whenever the latter went on an expedition in the north.⁸⁹ He took a prominent part in the Maratha war with the Sidis (1733-36). While he was laying siege to the Sidis fort of Gowalkot in July 1736, he fell dangerously ill. Someone suggested that he should write and inform the king of his failing health. "The king sent me" he reported "on this expedition after 28 years. What good will it do His Highness to know that I am not well?"⁹⁰ After many other estimable services he died on July 3, 1751.⁹¹

Others :

There were scores of other Maratha leaders whose services to the State during Shahu's reign were as valuable as of those mentioned before. Prominent among these were Malharrao Holkar (b. April 5, 1693; d. May 20, 1766) the founder of the present Native State of Indore; Ranoji Shinde (d. July 19, 1745) the founder of Gwalior; Pilaji Gaikwar (d. 1732) and his son Damaji (d. 1767) of Baroda State; Udaji Pawar (d. 1732), Anandrao Pawar (d. 1736), Tukoji Pawar (d. 1753), Yeshvantrao Pawar (d. 1761) and Jivaji Pawar (d. 1775) of Dhar and Devas States. They were the servants of Shahu and not of the Peshwa, as it is generally

84) Fort William to Co. Aug. 13, 1743; Coast and Bay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 4, P. 446.

86) Sardesai, Riyasal Madhya Vibhag Vol. 2, P. 234.

87) See his own declaration in Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 33, Entry No. 431.

88) Vide Supra Chapt. 4, P. 156, n. 3; 157.

89) See his marches and halts in Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 22 and 30.

90) His own words, in Letter No. 431, Idem. Vol. 33.

91) For details see Itihas Sangrah, Aitihasik Charitra Vol. 2, PP. 57-76.

supposed,⁹² but as the king stayed at home while his Peshwas went on campaigns; these men naturally attached themselves to the actual man on the spot. Nevertheless the Peshwas were guilty of disloyal practices in seducing, and even forcing, Shahu's Sardars to transfer their loyalties from the king to themselves.⁹³ Shahu was not ignorant of the Peshwas underhand deeds,⁹⁴ but his own benign nature was his greatest drawback as a king, and his tolerance of such disloyal acts ultimately led to the decline of the regal authority.

Nature of Maratha invasions :

Before recounting the political events of Shahu's reign, it is necessary to make clear the nature of the invasions made by his men of territories under alien rule. The reputation of the utter confusion they crested everywhere they marched. Like a whirlwind they entered their enemy's country and departed from it. It will be seen presently that, in north they marched past Delhi in 1737; in the south they reduced Trichinopoly in 1741; and in the east they went up to Dacca in 1746. To the west, of course, lay their own country. Their armies were numerous; their leaders able; their soldiers brave. At the news of their approach to any town or village, the inhabitants fled and government officers rarely offered any armed opposition to their entrance and ravages. Under these conditions it is not an exaggeration to say that, if these Marathas had

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- 92) The traditional account that some of these men were menial servants of the Peshwas is quite unfounded. Nor is it wholly true to say that they owed their rise to the favour of the Peshwas. In the beginning they were the officers of King Shahu. Thus, for instance, Ranoji Shinde was Shahu's general in 1715 (See Entry No. 23 in Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 7, which is a very important paper as it gives the name and ranks of Shahu's generals in that year). On Dec. 13, 1725 Shahu ordered Pilaji Gaikwar "to cease molesting the Peshwa Bajirao's men" (Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, P. 276). On Oct. 3, 1730 the king gave a Saranjam of 74 districts in Malwa to Malharrao Holkar and on the 7th sent an officer from his court to collect the royal dues from the grantee (Idem PP. 300-302). The Pawars were in the service of the Maratha kings since the days of Shivaji (See History of Dhar State P. 3 sqq.)
- 93) Entry No. 30 in Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 17 is a touching letter written by one Nanaji Jadhav to King Shahu in 1731. Chimaji Appa, the then Peshwa's brother, sent a detachment against Nanaji, because the latter refused to leave the King and join the Peshwa. "Your threats" said Nanaji to the Peshwa's men "will not make me submit. My King's Standard is by my side and I am his servant. I will rather fight and die (than leave him)." To this Chimaji afterwards replied, "If you remain so firm in your loyalty to the King, we shall one day kill you outright. We killed Tribbakrao Dabhade (the Senapati, On April 1, 1731); What did the King do to us ? How long to you think you can stay away from us ? — Most of the King's Sardars have taken to our service. It will be best for you follow their example". To this Nanaji repeatedly answered, "I will never leave my king and go to any one else."
- 94) See Idem Entry No. 65 which is a letter of Aug. 4, 1736 to the Peshwa. It shows how much the King was annoyed at the Peshwa's seductive practices.

played the role of conquerors, taken all the lands they overran into their immediate possession, and consolidated the gains as they made them, they would have, by the time King Shahu's reign came to an end, been the one power in India. But Shahu's men were not all conquerors; nor did they always make invasions to annex territories. The ideal of their State, as it is made manifest by their actions, was to make other States their tributaries, and not to destroy them. Before they broke into their enemy's lands, they first made demands of Chauthai and other customary Marathas dues. If these were paid in time they rarely disturbed the territory on that occasion. Even when, moreover, they made an invasion and were on the point of reducing a place, if their monetary demands were satisfied they would raise the siege and retire. This, as will be seen further on, was not always the case; but generally speaking it was their policy.

Another characteristic of the Maratha warfare was that, in a case where they intended to conquer a territory, they would not conquer it outright.⁹⁵ They would lead their armies in that part year after year, leave each time some men, and thus accustom the natives with their presence. After a lapse of some years their power became imperceptibly established in that quarter.

The Marathas moreover avoided the use of arms if they could achieve their objects by peaceful means. This is the reason why they often sacrificed considerations of dignity and ceremonial. Thus in 1719, Shahu was eager to receive the grants of Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi of the Deccan provinces on condition of acknowledging the Mughal emperor as his overlord, and providing 1500 men for his service.⁹⁶ Similar grant of Sardeshmukhi of the province of Gujarat was obtained by the king from the emperor in 1727.⁹⁷ The Peshwa Bajirao and his son Balaji anxiously sought every opportunity to obtain like Firmans from the same sovereign for Malwa and other provinces, and were not punctilious in declaring that they would become vassals (Sardars) of the emperor.⁹⁸ Soon after Shahu's death, the two powerful Maratha chiefs, Malharrao

95) One important exception to this practice was their conquest of the Portuguese province of the North in 1737-39.

96) Parasnis, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, PP. 1-2.

97) Copy of the grant in *Sel. Pesh. Dal.* Vol. 17, P. 84.

98) See the Peshwas, memorials to the Emperor and the grants made to them, *Idem* PP. 82, 95-98.

Holkar and Jayappa Shinde, made an agreement with the emperor, who then made them practically the guardians of his tottering empire; and they declared, "We shall serve your Majesty while we are alive".⁹⁹ It should be remembered that the concessions which Shahu, his Peshwa, and other Sardars, obtained had no military significance. Grant or no grant from the emperor, the Marathas were strong enough to enforce their demands. Their endeavors to obtain through voluntary transfer what they could forcibly seize, demonstrates their preference of peaceful methods. In this, they did not stop to weigh formalities and ceremonials they were more particular of solid gains.

It is necessary to remember these main features of Maratha warfare. Otherwise the movements of these people become confusing, and their incursions appear like mere predatory attack. Failure to take cognizance of this fact has led many writers to describe the Marathas as plunderers, freebooters and the like.

3. Extension of the Maratha power (1708-1749)

Shahu applies for Emperor's Firman 1708 :

When Shahu was released by Azam Shah in April 1707, he was promised the rights of the six Deccan provinces (Khandesh, Berar, Bedar Hyderabad, Aurangabad and Bijapur), if he would succeed in establishing himself as the Maratha king.¹⁰⁰ After his ascension to the throne the first thing Shahu did was to inform the emperor of his success,¹⁰¹ and demand the promised grants. Zulfiqar Khan pleaded for Shahu; but Munim Khan, the Vazir, to whom Tarabai applied for similar grants, interceded for her son (Shivaji II) and opposed Zulfiqar Khan. The emperor Bahadur Shah, "in his extreme good nature", complied with both, and a Sardeshmukhi order was directed to be given to both, but in the quarrel between the two great nobles at the Imperial court, the order remained inoperative.¹⁰²

99) Rajwade Vol. 1, Entry No. 1, which is a copy of the agreement. The Chauthal of a vast territory was given to the Maratha generals by this agreement.

100) Vide Supra PP. 44-45.

101) Vide Supra. PP. 65-66

102) Khafi Khan, Elliot Vol. VIII, P. 408.

103) Idem.

Shahu's resentment 1709-1712 :

It appears that Shahu resented the breach of promise by the emperor and took aggressive measures. For, in an order of Sept. 20, 1709 the king says that he had sent his general Shankaraji Mahadik in the Karnatak (then within Mughal empire) "giving him perfect freedom of action".¹⁰⁴ From another order of the same year it is clear that he forcibly collected Chouth and other tributes from the province of Hyderabad.¹⁰⁵ In 1711 he attacked and took Wai,* then in the Mughal dominion¹⁰⁶ and the Maratha horse overran the surrounding districts demanding Chouth from "cities and large towns".¹⁰⁷

Daud Khan, who had distinguished himself in Bahadur Shah's battle with Kam Bakhsh by defeating the emperor's rival (Jan. 3, 1709), was confirmed in his post of Deputy Governor for the provinces of the Deccan.¹⁰⁸ "Daud Khan" said the Company on Jan. 1711 "whose rough martial temper makes him famous on the coast and by his share in the defeat of Prince Caum Bux (Kam Bakhsh) has endeared him to the present Great Mogul so that he is the chief man in authority on all side of the Mogul's Dominions and has a considerable army under him".¹⁰⁹ But even this brave man could not stop the increasing ravages of the Marathas and had to make peace with them. "A treaty and friendly agreement was made between him and the enemy, in which it was stipulated that the Jagirs of the princes and Daud Khan should not be molested; but as regards the remaining tenure of the great nobles, Daud Khan's deputy, Hiranman, should arrange for the payment of Chouth. Caravans were not to be molested. So they (i.e. the Marathas and the Mughals) simmered together like milk and sugar, and matters went on without hitch or evasion."¹¹⁰

104) Ilihas Sangrah, Prachin Maratha Sardar, P. 12.

105) Sel. Pesh. Daf, Vol. 7, Entry No. 4.

106) Sardesai, Riyasat Madhya Vibhag Vol. 1, P. 68.

107) Khafi Khan, Elliot Vol. VII, P. 464-69.

* About 18m N. Salara.

108) The Abstract of a letter written by Fort St. George to the Co. on Oct. 11, 1709 says, "Nabab Daud Khan reinstated in his Government with new honours; desire the rarities wrote for as large bear dogs, some Swans which will be very acceptable; he defeated Caum Bux (Kam Baksh) so suppose he will continue in his Nabobship". Coast and Bay Abstract Letters Vol. 1, P. 240. By their next (Dec. 19) the Settlement advised that Daud Khan was confirmed in his post through Zulfiqar Khan's favour. Idem PP. 227-28.

109) Instructions given by the Court of Directors to Edward Harrison, Governor of Fort St. George, Letter Book Vol. 14, P. 115 sqq.

110) Khafi Khan, Elliot Vol. VII, PP. 265-66.

Maratha progress 1712-1717 :

This arrangement was upset¹¹¹ by Nizam-ul-mulk who was made Viceroy of the Deccan in Feb. 1713. His government however did not last long. In April 1715 he was recalled and Sayyid Husain Ali was appointed to his place. "The Mogul" wrote Fort St. George to the Company on Dec. 19, 1709 "employes (Daud Khan) in rough business".¹¹² In 1715 he was employed in the roughest business of his life. The emperor had become a bitter enemy of Husain Ali against whom he set Daud Khan. On the arrival of the now Viceroy in the Deccan, a fierce battle was fought between him and the late Deputy Governor in which the latter was slain (Aug. 26, 1715).¹¹³ The Marathas did not fail to take advantage of the internal quarrels in the Mughal dominions. They carried on their incursions and ravaged the country from Surat to Karwar. Early in 1714 one party "broke into the Sundah Rajahs Country and burnt one of his Towns within five leagues of Carwar".¹¹⁴ (Karwar). In Oct. 1715 another party "was still quarrelling with the Governor of Surat".¹¹⁵ When Husain Ali was settled in his government he sent his Diwan Muhakam Singh with Chandrasen Jadhav (who had deserted Shahu and joined the Mughals) against the king (Dec. 1716). On Jan. 1717 the Mughals arms approached so near that they encamped only 4 miles east of Satara. The king immediately despatched his newly appointed Senapati, Khanderao Dabhade, to stop their progress.¹¹⁶ On April 24, the Marathas inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Mughals.¹¹⁷

Husain Ali makes overture of peace 1718 :

"Two or three years" says Khafi Khan "of Husain Ali Khan's government passed in quarrels with the Emperor, so that, although he raised a large army, he could not show the vigour that was necessary, nor effect such a settlement as he himself desired".¹¹⁸ In order to strengthen his own position against any future attacks of the emperor, the Viceroy of the Deccan proceeded to pacify the Marathas. He made

111) Idem P. 466.

112) *Coast and Bay Abstract Letters Received* Vol. 1, P. 227.

113) *Later Mughals* Vol. 1, P. 328.

114) *Bom. to Co. March 20, 1714, Bombay Abstract Letters Received* Vol. 1, P. 191.

115) *Bom. to Co. Oct. 11, 1715, Idem* P. 205.

116) *Shahu's Court Diary for the years 1716-17* is extant and contains a few details of these events, *Sol. Pesh. Dal. Vol. 30, PP. 234-40.*

117) *Gardesai, Riyasat Madhya Vibhag* Vol. 1, P. 81.

118) *Elliot* Vol. VII, P. 466.

an overture of peace and friendship to Shahu towards the end of 1717 or in the beginning of 1718. The king heartened to the proposal and empowered his two Vakils, Shankaraji Pant and Yadavrao Munshi to conduct the negotiations.¹¹⁹

Treaty made Feb. 1718 :

Among other things, Shahu demanded that he should be put in possession of all the territories south of the Narbada, inclusive of every fortress in them;¹²⁰ that he should obtain three grants from the emperor, one recognising his title to the kingdom established by Shivaji (Swarrajya), another conferring on him the right to receive one quarter of the royal revenues from the six Deccan provinces (Chouthai), and the third conferring on him similar right to 10 p.c. of the same revenues as a personal emolument (Sardeshmukhi); and that his mother Yesubai and other relatives, who were, since 1689, in Mughal prison, should be released.¹²¹ Shahu on his part engaged to maintain an army of 1500 men for the imperial service, to establish peace and order in the country which would be brought under his influence, and to refrain from molesting his cousin, Sambhaji II of Kolhapur.¹²² Husain Ali agreed to these terms and a treaty was concluded, chiefly through the efforts of Balaji Vishvanath and Chimaji Damodhar, two "Brahmans and most intelligent generals of Raja Sahu".¹²³ (Shahu)

Emperor refuses to ratify :

Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty, "Husain Ali delivered a Sanad containing the conditions of the peace under his seal, to the Vakils of Raja Sahu and made no delay in writing for a royal document. He introduced the agents of Raja Sahu everywhere and settled that Balaji Bishwanath (Vishvanath) and Jamnaji (Chimnaji Damodhar) — should stay with a suitable escort in Aurangabad as deputy and Vakil of the Raja, so that all civil and revenue matters might be settled through them."¹²⁴ The emperor Farrukh-siyar refused to ratify the terms of the

119) See Shahu's Instructions to Shankaraji Pant in Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 7, Entry No. 28; and his letter of Feb. 24, 1718 to Yadavrao Munshi, in Riyasat Madhya Vibhag Vol. 1, PP. 84-85.

120) Shahu's Instructions to Shankaraji Pant; Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 7, Entry No. 28.

121) See Shahu's Instructions to Bajirao Ballal who accompanied his father, the Peshwa, on the expedition to Delhi (1718-19). Bharat Varsh Patre Yadi, Vol. 1, Entry No. 40.

122) Sardesai, Riyasat Madhya Vibhag Vol. 1, P. 82.

123) Khafi Khan Elliot Vol. VII, P. 467.

124) Idem P. 468.

agreement or to issue necessary Firmans.¹²⁵ Husain Ali prepared to leave for Delhi to settle his relations with the emperor. He requested Shahu to send a contingent for his assistance, and promised to pay a certain sum¹²⁶ for their expenses and to procure the stipulated royal grants. Shahu acceded to the request and decided to send an army to Delhi.

The Marathas set out for Delhi Nov. 1718 :

Accordingly, early in Nov. 1718 the Peshwa Balaji Vishvanath, the Senapati Khanderao Dabhade, and the generals Pilaji Jadhav, Davalji Somavanshi, Keroji Pawar, Tukoji Pawar, Anandrao Pawar and Santaji Bhosale among others¹²⁷ left Satara with their armies. They joined Husain Ali at Burhanpur on the 25th and on Dec. 1 the Peshwa paid an official visit to the Viceroy. On the 3rd Husain Ali set out for Delhi. It is not known whether the Marathas followed the Mughals closely or kept at a distance. The Peshwa and his followers entered Malwa on Dec. 19 and encamped near Chitore on Jan. 9 (1719). On the 29th they reached Kotputali, about 100 miles south west of Delhi.¹²⁸

They enter Delhi Feb. 12, 1719 :

On Feb. 12, 1719 Husain Ali and the armies following him made their entry into the capital. "First of all came the Mahrattas, their ranks reaching from the entrance of the hunting preserve to the gate of the fortress, their lances (neza) and spears (bhala) reminding the spectator of waving reed-bed or cane-brake."¹²⁹ The same day an agreement was

125) That the Marathas did not rely so much on Mughal Grants as on their own power to enforce their demands, is made plain by the fact that Shahu did not wait to see whether the emperor would ratify the treaty and issue the necessary orders. On July 14, (1718) his Peshwa collected Sardeshmukhi tributes; (Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, P. 247) and on Aug. 1, Shahu issued circular orders to surrounding district officers, directing them to pay the Swarajya revenues into his treasury "and not to the Mughals". (See his orders in Rajwade Vol. 3, Entry Nos. 99-100). Balaji Vishvanath, moreover, on his march to Delhi (1718-19) collected the stipulated dues from Mughal lands from place to place. (See Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, PP. 249-262).

126) What amount was agreed to be paid to the Maratha army is not known. It is variously put at, from one rupee to eight annas per head per day. Balaji's diary of the expedition contains entries showing receipts of unequal sums from time to time. See Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, PP. 249-262.

127) The names of all the generals who went on this expedition are mentioned in the diary of the expedition, Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, PP. 249-50, 257-59.

128) Peshwa's diary of the expedition, Idem PP. 249-56.

129) Later Mughals Vol. 1, P. 376.

reached between Farrukh-siyar and the Sayyids, and, to all outward appearance, peace was restored. But suddenly on the 16th the latter took possession of the imperial residence. At this time a body of Marathas were drawn up at the gates of the palace while another was stationed on the southern bank of the Jamuna. Next day (Feb. 17) the emperor Farrukh-siyar was deposed; and in the confusion that ensued a severe skirmish occurred between the contending parties. About 1500 Marathas are said to have lost their lives.¹³⁰

They obtain the Firmans March 1719 :

About Feb. 28 Shahu's mother Yesubai, his illegitimate brother Madan Singh and other relatives were released from the Mughal prison.¹³¹ The Sanad of Chouthai was issued in Shahu's name on March 3; that of Sardeshmukhi on the 15th; and the third of Swarajya followed soon.¹³² Grant Duff, who saw the original sanads in the possession of the Satara Rajas, has given their substance, which it is not necessary to reproduce here. In general terms these royal orders conferred on Shahu the same rights, as he had obtained by virtue of the treaty, made with Husain Ali

130) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, PP. 257-59; Later Mughals Vol. 1, PP. 82-86.

Irvine (Later Mughals Vol. 1, PP. 363-64) has given a disparaging account of how the Marathas on seeing "the Mughals' faces, fled like a flock of sheep before a pack of wolves". "In their panic" he adds "the men lifted neither hand, nor foot. ... They were killed as if they were dogs and cats". Irvine's authorities for this account are all Muhammedan writers, who have cast an undeserved slur on their enemies. The Marathas did not lose their lives in an attempt to run away, but in an actual fight between them and the Mughals. In a grant which Shahu made on Aug. 2, 1719 to the heirs of Balaji Mahadeo (the grandfather of the famous Nana Fadnis) the king says, "When the Peshwa Balaji Vishvanath went to Delhi with an army, Balaji Mahadeo accompanied him in the capacity of a writer (Fadanavis) A warm action (युद्ध प्रसंग) was fought in the city of Delhi in which Balaji Mahadeo received fatal wounds and died." (Itihas Sangrah, Peshwa Daftar P. 174 Underlining mine). The sanad was issued immediately after the return of the Marathas, and the underlined words make it plain that actual fighting took place. Another internal proof of the untrustworthiness of Mr. Irvine's account is his statement that Santaji (Bhosale) "who commanded five or six thousand horsemen" was killed. The "fight" in which Santaji is supposed to have been killed took place on Feb. 27. But on the 28th the self same general appears to have been comfortably encamping on the southern bank of the Jamuna. (Diary of the expedition, Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30; PP. 257-59). The Marathas might have suffered a great loss on account of a sudden attack. But they were too well acquainted with the features of Mughal faces to run away at their sight.

131) The first mention of their presence in the Maratha camp is made under that date in the Diary of the expedition Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, P. 262.

132) Grant Duff, History Vol. 1, P. 72, n; P. 373 n.

in Feb. 1718.¹³³ Having thus succeeded in their expedition the Marathas left Delhi on March 19.¹³⁴ After a month's march they reached the northern bank of the Narbada (April 24). On May 5 they encamped near Burhanpur from which city they had set out on Dec. 3 last.¹³⁵ the Peshwa reached Satara on July 4.¹³⁶

Importance of the expedition :

Grant Duff did not understand the real significance of this expedition of the Marathas to the Mughal capital. He is anxious only to condemn their pretensions to places and rights that may not have been included in the royal Firmans:¹³⁷ It is however already mentioned that Shahu did not wait for the Firmans; he started to collect his dues long before he received them.

The importance of the expedition however does not lie so much in the acquisition of these grants - valuable though they were¹³⁸ - as in its other results. On this occasion the Marathas, for the first time, took part in settling the internal affairs of the empire. They did this upon the invitation of one of the highest dignitaries of the State, the "King-maker". Sayyid Husain Ali Khan. From this time onward, as will be seen presently, Maratha assistance was sought by one or other party at the court, and by the emperor himself. The natives of Maharashtra soon became a permanent factor in Delhi politics, which they did not fail to turn to their own advantage.

Another important consequence was that the Marathas saw with their own eyes the tottering condition of the empire - an emperor pulled down from the throne, blinded with a needle, thrown into a black hole and hanged in the end; and another weakling proclaimed as his successor, Young Bajirao, the future Peshwa, Pilaji Jadhav, Khanderao Dabhade and other generals, who afterwards made the north their home, were then present in the city. It is therefore right to infer that they must have seen, how easy it would be to make any attack on the empire.

133) *Idem*.

134) *Later Mughals* Vol. 1, P. 408.

135) *Sel. Pesh. Daf.* Vol. 30, PP.262-63.

136) *Sardesai, Riyasat Madhya Vibhag* Vol. 1, P. 92.

137) *History* Vol. PP. 273-74.

138) The grants were indeed very important. To mention one point of their importance, the fireman of Swarajya took official cognizance of the existence of Shivaji's Kingdom and thus bestowed a legal character upon it (if it needed any). The rebel Shivaji now became a lawful king.

When, 17 years later, Bajirao again reached the gates of Delhi - this time as an invader - he boasted that he could easily burn down the city and destroy the empire.¹³⁹ If he had carried out his boast the Mughals had themselves to thank for; because they took the Marathas right into the heart of their capital and showed them all their weak points in 1719.

Marathas assist Sayyids 1720 :

The revolution in the Mughal empire, which began with Farrukhsiyar's deposition (Feb. 17, 1719), ended with Muhammad Shah's accession to the throne. The two Sayyids, "the king-makers", had made themselves odious by their late bloodthirsty acts. "The whole kingdom" wrote Patna to Fort William on May 25, 1720 "continues discontented with these two ministers, and are resolved to seek all means for their Destruction".¹⁴⁰ One of the powerful nobles whom the Sayyids had made their enemy was Nizam-ul-mulk, the founder of the present Native State of Hyderabad (Deccan). In March 1719 he was made Subahdar of Malwa. In the beginning of May of the following year he left his government, "gathered great forces in the Ducan (Deccan) Country, and openly declared against the Syuds (Sayyids)".¹⁴¹ On the 9th he possessed himself of the important fortress of Asirgarh in Khandesh, and on the 13th took the town of Burhanpur.¹⁴² The Sayyids sent their Bakshi (paymaster) Dilwar Ali to oppose him. He overtook the Bakshi and killed him in a battle on June 8, at Pandhar, about 30 miles north of Burhanpur.¹⁴³

On this day Alim Ali, the nephew of the Sayyids and the acting Viceroy of the Deccan, was at Phulambri, about 135 miles south of Burhanpur. Near to his place were encamped the two Maratha generals, the Peshwa Bajirao and his brother Chimnaji Appa.¹⁴⁴ In the last expedition to Delhi the Sayyids had made the Marathas their friends, and now sought their assistance to put down the Nizam. On June 9 Bajirao had a conference with Alim Ali,¹⁴⁵ and, possibly, settled the terms of their alliance. In any case a body of 17-18,000 Marathas joined the Viceroy.¹⁴⁶

139) His letter to Chimaji Appa. Life and letters Brahmendra Swami, Letter No. 27.

140) Beng. Pub. Con. Vol. 4, P.134.

141) Idem.

142) Later Mughals Vol. 2, PP. 23-25.

143) Later Mughals Vol. 2, PP. 28-32.

144) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, Entry No. 309.

145) Idem.

146) Khafi Khan Elliot Vol. 7, P. 499.

But Nizam-ul-mulk's stars were in the ascendant. On July 30 (1720) a battle was fought between him and Alim Ali in which the latter was slain. Some 634 Marathas are said to have lost their lives and one of their generals made prisoner.¹⁴⁷ Bajirao himself was present on the battle-field hovering at a distance in the rear of the Nizam.¹⁴⁸

Meanwhile the Sayyids endeavoured to pacify their opponent with an offer of the Viceroyalty of the Deccan. Even the emperor issued a Firman conferring the office on the Nizam and sent some robes of honour. But "as expected Nazamulmulk refused the Phirmaund and Secrpaw" sent him by the king ... returning answer that it came from the Syed (Sayyid) who kept the king Prisoner from whom he hoped to deliver him and restore the kingdom to its former Freedom and would then submit to his Majesties' Commands".¹⁴⁹ He then set on a march "towards Agra to fight the 2 Brothers, the Morattas joining them and the Rashput Chickleys (i.e. himself¹⁵⁰)". But he was saved from further troubles, because Husain Ali was assassinated on Sept. 27, and his brother Abdulsh Khan captured and cut to pieces on Nov.3.¹⁵¹

147) Later Mughals Vol. 2, P. 50.

148) Bajirao's halts in Balaji Bajirao's Diary Vol. 2, P. 220.

* Dress of honour.

149) Patna to Fort William, June 1, 1720. Beng. Pub. Con. Vol. 4, P. 137.

150) Fort St. George to Co. Jan. 20, 1721. Coast and Bay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 2, P. 289. The full letter is printed in Despatches to England, 1719-27 Volume, but a few important lines are missing.

151) Irvine (Later Mughals Vol. 2) has given a thrilling account of the assassination of Husain Ali (PP. 56-66). He, however, only thinks that a conspiracy to murder the Sayyid was made by the emperor with others and on the appointed day the victim was put to death while reading a sham petition on the way-side. But strangely enough the emperor is said to have resented the crime (PP. 59-60).

In a letter which Fort St. George wrote to the Company on Jan. 20, 1721 they described the incident in these words; "There was a private Conference held between them (i.e. the emperor, Husain Ali and Md. Amin Khan, whom the gentlemen call Chin Kilich Khan alias Nizam-ul-mulk's brother, but who was his cousin) and they were walking together; the young king gave Chicklys Cawns Brother the private Signal in his Ear upon which he immediately drew his scymitre and killed Hussanally Cawn" (Despatches to England 1719-27, P. 37). On Oct. 10 Patna wrote to Fort William that Husain Ali was "killed in the King's presence twelve days past by Mahmud Amin (Amin) Caun and his party" (Beng. Pub. Con. Vol. 4, P. 250)

Irvine, moreover, says that on Nov. 3, 1720 Abdullah Khan was captured and kept in prison where he died of poison on Sept. 30 1722 (P. 98). This appears improbable. The above mentioned Fort St. George letter says, "Mahumud Ameen Cawn had defeated Abdulla Cawn, and taken him prisoner; when the King came to Dilly (Delhi) he ordered him to cut to pieces forthwith". Patna wrote to Fort William on Nov. 15, 1720 about "a bloody battle — in which Abdulla Caun was killed" (Beng. Pub. Con. Vol. 4, P. 289). Kassinbazar also wrote on Nov. 21, "advising the news of Abdula Caun's being defeated and cutt off" (idem P. 289). On

Campaigns in the north and south, 1720 :

The intervention of the Marathas in the internal affairs of the Mughals was the natural consequence of the Chouthai and Sardeshmukhi Sanads of March 1719. By these grants Shahu was entitled to a total of 33 p.c. of the imperial revenues from the Deccan provinces. He was moreover to collect the dues by his own officers called Kamavisdars. On the receipt of these Sanads, the king assigned parts of the Swarajya territory and the tributary lands to each one of his high officers, who were empowered to collect the dues for themselves and pay a fixed yearly sum into the King's treasury.¹⁵² Thus, for instance, on Aug. 11, 1719 he gave the district of Kalyan-Bhivandi to the Peshwa Balaji Vishvanath, and on Nov. 7 a Saranjam in Berar to the Senapati Khanderao Dabhade and another in Daulatabad to his son Trimbakrao Dabhade.¹⁵³ Any disturbances in the Mughal dominions meant a loss of revenues to the Saranjam-holders, who, therefore had to intervene to defend their own rights. When Nizam-ul-mulk took the fortress of Asirgarh (May 9, 1720) the Peshwa's Kamavisdar stationed in Khandesh wrote (May 17). "This province is greatly disturbed... unfortunately at the very time of collecting the revenues... Unless our armies appear on the spot we are likely to lose everything"¹⁵⁴

Armies were despatched from Shahu's capital, Satara. Bajirao, who received the robes of Peshwai on April 17, 1720, supported Alim Ali against Nizam-ul-mulk (June-July). On the defeat of his party (July 30) he went through the province of Khandesh (Aug. 1 to 19), obviously settling the question of the dues. On his way back to the capital he had a skirmish with the Mughals at Baramati* on Oct. 11. He stayed at that town till Nov. 22 and returned to Satara on Dec.1.¹⁵⁵

At the time the Peshwa went northward, the Pratinidhi Srinivasrao went southward. He marched up to Bankapur, about 197 miles south-east of Satara. At Kundgol, about 22 miles north of Bankapur, he had a successful fight with its Pathan officer, Abdul Gaffar. This southern

the 25th the last mentioned even sent to Fort William copies of "Vaccas or news papers from Court" confirming the news (Idem P. 200).

152) This is the Saranjam system which is described in detail in Chapt. 8.

153) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, Entry Nos. 339-40.

154) Idem Vol. 20, Entry No. 4.

155) See his halts in Balaji Bajirao's Diary Vol. 2, PP. 220-21.

campaign must have taken place during Oct. 1720 to 1721.¹⁵⁶

Bajirao 1721-22 :

After his victory, Nizam-ul-mulk was reconciled to and a friendly meeting between the two took place at Chikalthan in Khandesh on Jan. 4, 1721.¹⁵⁷ On the 13th and 14th the Nizam - who now styled himself as the Viceroy of the Deccan - issued with his own seal fresh orders to the officers of the six provinces under his command, "to transmit one fourth of the revenues to the Kamavisdars of King Shahu".¹⁵⁸ This question of the dues being settled, at least for the time being, Bajirao left the tributary province of Khandesh and entered into the district of Surat (Feb. 17) where he continued up to the end of May.¹⁵⁹ Bands of Marathas, however, lingered in the neighborhood throughout the year. "They have" wrote Bombay to the Company on Jan. 29, 1722 "beaten the Phousdars who are the guards of the Country".¹⁶⁰

Towards the end of January, 1721 the "Sevajeas" under Khanderao Dabhade entered the Sundah country. Its Raja sent a pressing request to the English gentlemen at Karwar Factory to assist him in opposing the enemy (Feb. 1). An officer with 60 men was sent from Karwar (March 4), but the Marathas having suddenly left the country these men were recalled (March 7).¹⁶¹

On May 11, 1722 Bombay wrote to the Company. "The Forces of Sou (Shahu) Rajah are making their Depredations in the places more adjacent to Surat which cause a general damp to trade, and until the

156) The Pratinidhi himself has referred to this fight in an order he made on Feb. 25, 1721. By this order he gave an Inam to the son of one Subhanrao Patankar, who, sword in hand made an attack upon the person of the Pathan, but was killed. Itihas Sangrah, Peshwa Daftar P. 17.

157) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, Entry No. 309.

• About 50 miles N. E. Satara.

158) See Sanad No. 1, Parasnis, Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, PP. 1-2.

159) Bajirao's halte, Balaji Bajirao's Diary Vol. 2, P. 221.

160) Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 1, P. 22.

161) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 5, P. 34.

This incursion must have been made by Khanderao Dabhade. The Bom. Pub. Con. of Aug. 12 mentions that the governor had received a letter from Conderace Dabaria General of the Horse of to Shoh (Shahu) rajah, signifying that his master had lately given him part of the country about Carwar (Karwar) but now in possession of the Sundah rajah". As there was an English Factory at Karwar. Khanderao desired to know "what service he could do" to them in those parts. A person was sent from Bombay to discourse with the Senapati, but the result of their conference is not known.

Court (i.e. the emperor) resolves to settle the Choutys (Chouthai) or quarter part to the several Rajahs that demand it of bring them under an entire subjugation a more Peacable disposition is not to be expected. It is however hoped the present Prince Sultan Mahmud is taking measures to bring his State into a better decorum --- We hear the king himself is preparing to march to Aurangbad which is on the confines of Sou Rajahs Country".¹⁶²

Peshwa's first expedition the North 1723 :

On Sept. 7, 722 the Peshwa Bajirao left Satara on his first expedition in the north. On Dec. 6 he encamped near Aurangabad, on Jan. 19 (1723) near Burhanpur, and on Feb. 1 near Handia, about 370 miles north-east of Satara.¹⁶³ Meanwhile fresh dissensions had broken out at the imperial court. Nizam-ul-mulk, who was made Grand Vazir on Feb. 9, 1721, and Haidar Kuli Khan, the Viceroy, of Gujarat (then at the court) came to an open rupture. The Vazir prevailed upon the emperor to give him the government of Gujarat and left Delhi to take possession of it (Oct. 31, 1722).¹⁶⁴ On the day Bajirao was near Handia, the Nizam approached Sarangpur, about 82 miles to the north. What communications passed between the Peshwa and the Vazir are not known. An isolated entry in the Peshwa's Diary mentions that on Feb. 13, 1723 "he took leave of Nizam-ul-mulk"¹⁶⁵ near Jhabua, about 190 miles west of Handia and 140 miles southwest of Sarangpur. The said entry significantly remarks that Bajirao "was to set out immediately for the Deccan". Apparently, the existing alliance between the Nizam and the Peshwa was again confirmed, and the latter was prevailed upon to refrain from disturbing the Mughal provinces.

But the expedition did not end here. After taking leave of the Nizam Bajirao went east and reached Akbarabad on the northern bank of the Narbada on Feb. 24. Two days after, he crossed the river and entered into Khandesh. Here, on March 4, he had a conference with Aivajkhan, the Nizam's nominee in that province.¹⁶⁶ The same day he changed his route and went northward again¹⁶⁷ Nizam-ul-mulk was at this time in

162) Bombay Letters Received Vol. 1.

163) Bajirao's halts, Balaji Bajirao's Diary Vol. 2, PP. 222-23.

164) Later Mughals Vol. 2, PP. 106, 127-29.

165) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, Entry No. 310.

166) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 22, Entry No. 4.

167) See his halts in Balaji Bajirao's Diary Vol. 2, PP. 223-24, and in Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 80, P. 268.

Malwa besieging the fort of Bhopal.¹⁶⁸ Obviously some negotiations were still in progress between the Peshwa and the Vazir. In any case Bajirao went from place to place in the districts of Handia, Khandesh, Bijagad and Asheri, and did not return to Satara till Aug. 22, 1723.¹⁶⁹

Emperor seeks Shahu's help. 1724 :

Early in 1724 the Vazir Nizam-ul-mulk "retired in disgust from the Court to Aurangabad".¹⁷⁰ He had long fixed his mind on the Deccan country, and, finding "other Favourites contributing lately to the King's Luxury",¹⁷¹ he determined to follow his fortune in the south. The emperor ordered Mubariz Khan, the then governor of Hyderabad, to oppose the Nizam, and among other persons wrote to "Rajah Shahu" to assist the governor.¹⁷² The Maratha king wished to turn the opportunity to his best advantage and sent a long list of terms¹⁷³ on which he would assist the emperor. He made about 20 demands. The one more significant than the other was "The emperor will confer the Viceroyalty of the Deccan provinces only upon that person whom we shall select".¹⁷⁴ The result of the negotiations, opened by Shahu's demands, is not known. As the Marathas, however, joined Nizam-ul-mulk in the succeeding contest, Shahu must have received a negative answer. The Vazir moreover had been on friendly terms with the Marathas since 1721 and had ordered his officers to pay the stipulated dues to Shahu. Mubariz Khan, on the other hand, fought the Marathas "wherever he could" and withheld the payments.¹⁷⁵ Shahu's men therefore took the Nizam's side.

On Jan. 27, 1724 Bajirao left Satara to join Nizam-ul-mulk. He met him at Nalase in Malwa on May 10, and had a personal interview.¹⁷⁶ The two, it appears, then proceeded southward towards Aurangabad, the official residence of the Deccan Viceroys. The Marathas reached the

168) Later Mughals Vol. 2, P. 130.

169) Bajirao's halts, Balaji Bajirao's Diary Vol. 2, P. 224.

170) Bom. to Co. Aug. 11, 1724.

171) Fort William to Co. Jan. 18, 1723, Coast and Bay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 2, P. 354.

172) Later Mughals Vol. 2, P. 137.

173) The important document containing Shahu's terms forms Entry No. 1, Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 10. The demands made by Shahu are significant in themselves; but the tone in which they are made is more significant, in as much as it shows that the Marathas had grown too strong for the weak emperor.

174) Strangely enough the editor of the Sel. Pesh. Daf. in giving a summary of the above mentioned document, has missed this important item.

175) Later Mughals Vol. 2, P. 138.

176) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, PP. 268-69.

town on June 21 and stayed there till July 23.¹⁷⁷ Obviously, the allies settled here the plan of their future action against Mubariz Khan, who was at that time preparing for a battle. A conclusive action was soon fought between the two parties. "The last Day of September (1724)" wrote Bombay to the Company on Nov. 27, 1724 "they came to a Decisive Battle ... near a place called Jaffraband,* where the (Mughal) King's forces were entirely routed. Enamut Caun (alias Mubariz Khan) with his two sons and sundry other Omrahs (nobles) and other officers of that Party being killed. The Vizier (Nizam-ul-mulk) likewise lost a good number of Omrahs and officers on this (? his) side, but as reported few of the Common Soldiers among the Moguls of either side were killed, the great slaughter being among the Morottos or Geenims of whom it is said about Twenty Thousand fell."¹⁷⁸

"The Morattas" continued the gentlemen in another paragraph of the same letter "of the Forces of Sou Rajah and in the interest of the Vizier who are called Geenime,* with a party of his (i.e. Vizier's) forces in all about eight thousand strong are since his victory drawn near Surat and actually with Partys ravaging to the northward within gun shott of the city".¹⁷⁹

Gujarat "in the Power of Morattes" 1725 :

At this time another contest for the government of Gujarat was proceeding space. About June 1724 Rustam Ali was made governor of Surat in place of Momin Khan. Shujat Khan, one of his brothers, succeeded Hamid Khan at Ahmedbad, and Ibrahim Ali, another brother, became Naib (deputy) of Shujat Khan. The retiring officers, however, did not deliver up their offices without first putting up a fight.¹⁸⁰ The Marathas turned these troubles to their advantage. On the night of Nov. 12, 1724 about 1000 horse of the "Genims Ravaged very night the City Walls" of Surat. On the 20th it was reported in the town that their number

177) Bajirao's halts, Balaji Bajirao's Diary Vol. 2, P. 225.

* The battle was fought at a village called Sakharkedle near Jafarabad, about 50 miles north east of Aurangabad.

178) This is an obvious exaggeration, because there were not 20,000 Marathas present on the battle-field. See the list of their divisions and those who wounded, Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, PP. 270-71.

* A ganim is an enemy. The Marathas and Mughals called each other genims, to the English gentlemen the Marathas were also known as "ganims" and "Sivajees" which words they spelt in various ways.

179) Bom. to Co. Aug. 11, 1724, Bombay Letters Received Vol. I.

180) See Idem

had increased to "thirteen or fourteen Thousand Horse and Foot".¹⁸¹ While Rustam Ali was endeavouring to drive them away,¹⁸² Hamid Khan, the late governor of Ahmedabad, secured the assistance of "the Sou Rajah's General" Kanthaji Kadam and his 28,000 horse. They made a sudden attack upon Shujat Khan near Ahmedabad and killed him (Dec. 6, 1724).¹⁸³ Hamid Khan then seized the government of that city. Ibrahim Ali made a rash attempt to assassinate Hamid Khan, but was himself killed.¹⁸⁴

Rustam Ali, the governor of Surat decided to avenge the loss of his two brothers. He first bought peace of Pilaji Gaikwar, whose men were then attacking the city, by paying "two Lack (Lakh) of Rupees exclusive of his Choti (Chouthai)",¹⁸⁵ and proceeded to meet Hamid Khan (Dec. 31).¹⁸⁶ Towards the end of Jan. 1725, he gave him a battle at Arras near Baroda, and routed his army. Hamid Khan took to his heels, and the victor pursued him. Pilaji, in the meanwhile, appeared in the rear of Rustam Ali, "overset his artillery Guns out of their Carriages and set fire to all the Powder". Hamid Khan suddenly rallied and faced his pursuer. Rustam Ali was by this stratagem closely surrounded by the armies of Hamid Khan and Pilaji, and remained in that state till Feb. 11. On that day a battle was fought to the finish, and Rustam Ali killed.¹⁸⁷

What gains the Marathas made out of these troubles in Gujarat is succinctly described in a letter written by the gentlemen at Bombay to the Company on April 9, 1725. They first give a detailed account of the various battles fought "so that the Province of Gujarat has been for these

181) Factory Records, Surat Consultations and Diary Vol. 11, PP. 34-37.

182) For sundry skirmishes between the governor and the Marathas, see Idem PP. 37-41.

183) Idem P. 45.

184) An interesting account of this incident as given by the Dutch agent at Ahmedabad was as follows : "That Abrah Cooli Caun (i.e. Ibrahim Ali Khan) after the death of Siyah Carms Brother (sic) and the City being seized by Hamud Caun took a desperate resolution to revenge his Brothers death, or die in the attempt, and accordingly with about 35 persons of the same resolution, with their naked swords in hand, ran to the House or Durbar of Hamud Caun who seeing them coming run to the house of his Women and shut the Doors, being thus disappointed, he (Ibrahim Ali Khan) was returning with the persons aforesaid, when a Body of Hamud Carms fell upon them, and after an obstinate resistance, cut Abram Cooli Caun and other persons to pieces". Idem P.46.

185) Idem P. 55

186) Idem P. 70

187) Idem P. 70. This entry in the Surat Diary mentions that Rustam Ali killed himself by plunging a dagger in his heart. But Entry No. 312, Sol. Pesh. Duf. Vol. 30 clearly says that he died while fighting.

three months past wholly in the Power of the Morattos, where its said they are at present about eighty thousand strong in horse".¹⁸⁸

Shahu's power established in Gujarat 1726 :

Hamid Khan did not continue long in the government he had usurped. Early in Nov. 1725, Sarbuland Khan, "one of the great Omrahs", was sent from Delhi as the Viceroy of Gujarat. By the end of December he succeeded in ejecting Namid Khan out of Ahmadabad, but could not get rid of the "Genims". "As this (i.e. Sarbuland Khan's) force advances" wrote Bombay on Jan. 25, 1726 "in great Bodies their do retire, and approach again as the others withdraw, giving no more than room for playing a sort of South Goa Game".¹⁸⁹ In Feb. 1726 the Mughal army gained a victory over the Marathas, but not being vigorously pursued, the latter scattered all over the province and took to plundering.¹⁹⁰ Finding it impossible to drive away these intruders, Sarbuland Khan agreed to their terms and a treaty of peace was made in March 1726. The purport of the treaty was as follows; "That the Government of Ahmadabad from this present harvest ... 1726 shall pay the Geenims one fourth part of produce of all lands and revenues as well as the usual tribute of ten percent, and permit their Vakeel to set (sit) at the Darbar of Ahmadabad, Brodera (Baroda) and Broach of recovering there of, provided they never presume to take more, or in any manner disturb or molest or interrupt the persons, trade and traffic of those parts; that whatever shall be forcibly taken away from any person under the jurisdiction of said Government, they oblige themselves to be answerable and make entire restitution to the Party injured. Both Parties promising and agreeing to be assisting to each other on all occasions".¹⁹¹

By this treaty the power of the Marathas became firmly established

188) Bombay Letters Received Vol. 1. See also theirs of March 16, 1723 Idem. Further details of the progress of the Marathas can be found in the above mentioned Surat Consultation and Diary, Vol. II. On Aug. 25 Bombay again wrote, "The Morattoes and Viziers Party continuing to ravage the Country by raising contributions, and is said have carried away from the Province of Gujarat only, about two millions of Rupees." Bombay Letters Received Vol. 1.

189) Bom. to Co. Jan. 25, 1726, Bombay Letters Received Vol. 1.

190) Bom. to Co. May 28, 1726, Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 1A, P. 156.

191) These are the exact words of the "purport" of the agreement as entered under the Consultation of April 14, 1726, Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 6. See also Sarbuland Khan's Sanads of Chouthal and Sardeshmukhi for the province of Gujarat, Issued out in Shahu's name; Sol. Peah. Daf. Vol. 15, PP. 84-85.

in Gujarat, and, though conflicts often arose between them and the Mughal officers, they soon became masters of the better part of the province.

Srirangpatam seized March 6. 1727 :

At the time Pilaji Gaikwar Kanthaji Kadam were extending their sway in Gujarat, the Peshwa Bajirao, the Pratinidhi Sripatrao and the Senapati Khanderao with others were making incursions up to Mysore. They pitched their tents on the auspicious Vijayadashami of 1725¹⁹² (Oct. 5). They entered the province of Bijapur on Dec. 24, reached the Krishna on Jan. (1726) and Jan. 4 (1726) and Tungabhadra on Feb. 23. Continuing their southern march they encamped near Chitaldroog, about 200 miles south-east of Satara, on March 15. They stayed in that part till about April 20 and then returned. On their way back they were at Harpanhali* on April 25 and at Gokak* on May 14. They reached Satara on May 22 (1726).¹⁹³

Encouraged by this obviously successful incursion, Shahu ordered Bajirao and Khanderao to start for another expedition on the next Vijayadashami (Sept. 24, 1726).¹⁹⁴ This time the generals chose a different route, the one along the western coast. They were at Belgaum about 128 miles south of Satara on Nov. 22, and from that town made a sudden entry into Sonda Raja's country lying to the west. They seized the town of Sonda on Dec. 13, ¹⁹⁵"The English agent at Honavar wrote to Bombay on Dec. 13, "About the beginning of December Badjee Raw the Sou Rajahs General entered the Sundah Country with an army of Twenty-five Thousand Horse demanding five Lack (lakh) of rupees which the Rajah refusing to comply with, he (i.e. Bajirao) began to lay waste his (i.e. Sonda) country and still continues so to do; he has taken the City of Sundah but not the fort. The Rajah and the rest of the family fled

192) Shahu's Diary Entry No. 14.

Marahta armies used to pass the winter (June-September) of every year in their home country, and set forth on their campaigns on Vijayadashami, that is to say the 10th day of the first fortnight of Ashvin, which generally came to be the end of September or the beginning of October.

193) Bajirao's halts, Balaji Bajirao's Diary Vol. 2, PP. 226-27.

* About 230 m. S. F. Satara.

+ About 110 m. S. Satara.

194) Shahu's Diary Entry No. 19

195) Bajirao's halts, Balaji Bajirao's Diary Vol. 2, P. 227

on the approach of the enemy."¹⁹⁶ Ultimately the Raja's troubles were ended by his agreeing to pay 175,000 pagodas,* of which he gave 57,000 on the spot and in cash.¹⁹⁷ On Dec. 26 Bajirao entered the adjoining territory of the king of Bidnur who bought their peace by paying 270,000 pagodas.¹⁹⁸ The Maratha generals left those parts by the middle of January 1727 and entered Mysore country. Here they ended their southern incursion by seizing Srirangpatan on March 6, 1727.¹⁹⁹ They remained there for a few days only and returned. They reached Satara on April 27.²⁰⁰

Though the details of their proceedings in the countries they passed through are not known, the case of Sunda and Bidnur suggest that they went on the expeditions to bring all those parts under tribute. From Satara to Srirangpatan they passed through a territory of about 400 miles in length.

Maratha triumphs in Malwa. 1728 :

To return to the north, in July 1725 a Kamavisdar was appointed by the Peshwa to collect the customary dues from the province of Malwa.²⁰¹ Giridhar Bahadar, who became the Subhadar of Malwa in June 1725 stopped the payments in 1726.²⁰² The Peshwa was since then waiting for an opportunity to compel the Subhadar to treat the Maratha claims in a better manner. In Aug. 1728, Savai Jayasing, the powerful chief of Ambar and a prominent officer of the imperial government, advised him, "If your army will immediately appear in Malwa, I Shall make the emperor grant you whatever you will demand".²⁰³ Bajirao would not fail to take advantage of such mutual jealousies and dissensions among the imperial officers.

196) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 6, P. 71

* 1 = 3½ rupees Hobson - Jobson

197) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 6, Con. Jan. 18, 1727.

198) Honavar to Bombay Jan. 28, 1727, Idem.

199) Bajirao's halts, Balaji Bajirao's Diary Vol.2, P. 227

200) Idem PP. 227-28

The Abstract of fort St. George to the Company dated Sept. 22, 1727, contains the following reference to the Maratha incursion in the south: "this year the Morattoos entered the Borders, but several Nabobs marched against them but (sic.) their fear of Disturbance vanished".

201) Sel. Psh. Daf. Vol. 30, P. 272. The province of Malwa was not included in the Firmans granted to Shahu in 1719; yet by 1725-26 tributes from this province were collected by Maratha Kamavisdars in the same manner as from those which were specially granted.

202) Shahu's letter to the Kamavisdar, Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 13, Entry No.5.

203) Letter from Delhi to Peshwa, Idem Vol. 13, Entry No. 10

Chimnaji Appa was selected for the expedition - the first big expedition of his life. He left Poona about Oct. 26, 1728. His second halt was on the southern bank of the Ghod River (Oct. 28). About 40 miles to the north; fifth at Sangamner (Nov. 4) about 37 miles further north-east; and twelfth at Rajpur (Nov. 23), about 140 miles north-east of Sangamner. Next day he reached the southern bank of the Narbada and the day after crossed the river at Dharampur, about 18 miles north-east of Rajpur. On Nov. 27 he encamped at Nalchi, about 23 miles further to the north-west, and stayed there for two days.²⁰⁴ By this time Giridhar Bahadar collected a strong army and went forth to oppose the Marathas. "He precipitated a battle" wrote Chimnaji to Bajirao on Nov. 30 "in which we fought at our best, and in the end destroyed both Giridhar and his army".²⁰⁵

This successful battle was fought on Nov. 29 or 30.²⁰⁶ 1728 at Amjhera, about 12 miles north of Nalcha, Chimnaji's last halting place, and about 72 miles south-west of Ujjain the capital of Malwa.

Giridhar Bahadhar's place was immediately taken by his cousin. Daya Bahadar. This new Subhadar of the province at once rushed to the hills* of Amjhera, to guard the pass, but Chimnaji Appa evaded him. He left Amjhera on Dec. 2 and took a southern route to show that he was retiring. He then suddenly turned back and made his way through the pass of Manuavgad, and 33 miles east of Amjhera.²⁰⁷ "The enemy came forth" wrote Chimnaji "and we could do no other than fight him. Thanks to the prowess of King Shahu, we defeated the enemy and killed Daya Bahadar himself and many great men in his army. We plundered his quarters and took 18 elephants".²⁰⁸ In other letters Chimnaji added that the banner, kettle-drum, horses, artillery and all the baggage of the late Subhadar was also captured.²⁰⁹

204) Chimnaji's halts, Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 22, PP. 4-5.

205) Idem Vol. 13, Entry No. 23

206) On Nov. 28 Chimnaji was at Nalcha; on the 29th at Amjhera. (Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 22, P.5). On the 30th he advised Bajirao of his success from Amjhera. The day of the battle therefore may have been the 29th or 30th. Until further details are known both dates have an equal claim to be right. W. Irvine (Later Mughals Vol. 2, P. 243) gives Dec. / Nov. 27. This is wrong, because on that day Chimnaji was at Nalcha about 12 miles south of the battle-field.

207) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 13, Entry No. 27.

208) Idem.

* At some places the height of these hills from the sea level reaches 2456 ft. Thacker's Reduced Survey Map of India.

209) Idem Entry Nos. 25, 28.

This battle was fought on or about Dec. 10, 1738 at Tirala, which was mid-way between Amjhera and Dhar.²¹⁰

Chimnaji Appa followed up the victory by taking possession of Ujjain on Dec. 22, 1728. He remained in the city until Jan. 12, 1729 and then went all over the province, collecting the customary dues. He did not return to Poona till May 4.²¹¹ The victories in the two successive battles were a triumph for Maratha arms in Malwa.

Bajirao obtains 1/3 of Bundelkhand, 1729 :

At the time Chimnaji Appa was engaged in these battles in Malwa, Bajirao was proceeding towards the north by slow marches. He had accompanied Shahu on a pilgrimage to Tuljapur* and taken his leave on Nov. 27, 1728.²¹² He had not even reached the Narbada when he heard the news of his brothers victories. On Dec. 27 he wrote to Chimnaji a congratulatory letter in which he added in his own hand. "We have firmly decided to proceed towards the country of Chhatrasal (i.e. Bundelkhand). The Sarlashkar (Davalji Somavanchi) has ten thousand men, and I four thousand. Besides, we have twenty-five thousand horse in all".²¹³

210) I have deduced this date, viz. Dec. 10, 1728 from various data. Living memory located the battle-field as "Tirellah, between amjherra and Dhar" (Malcolm, Central India Vol. 2, PP. 82-83 n.). Chimnaji's halts of this month show that, after killing Girdhar Bahadar, he left Amjhera on Dec. 2. On the 3rd he was at a place called Ad, and on the 7th at another place called Jepalpur. His movements on the 4th, 5th and 6th are not recorded. (Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 22, P.5). I have not been able to locate the last two places on the map, but I take it that Ad was to the south, and Jepalpur to the north of the Mandavgad pass, because it was soon after he left Amjhera that he crossed the other pass. It is obvious that he effected this from the 4th to the 6th, for which days there is no record.

Chimnaji left Jepalpur on the 9th and reached "Tale" (.....) on the 10th (Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 22, P.5). This "Tale" must be the same as "Tirala". Because Dhar is nearer to the Mandavgad pass, and no sooner Chimnaji got through the pass than Daya Bahadar hastened from Amjhera to give him a battle. Chimnaji says that "he could do no other than fight him". He must have therefore gone half-way to meet him. But Chimnaji was at "Tale" from the 10th to the 12th, and on the 13th he encamped "near Ujjain". (Idem). He advised Pilaji Jadhav of his success against Daya Bahadar from "Near Ujjain" (Idem Vol. 13, Entry No. 28). This makes it perfectly plain that the battle was fought before the 13th. It may have, however, been fought on the 10th, 11th or 12th, when Chimnaji was at "Tale". Out of these dates, I prefer the 10th for a very good reason. On the 24th of the same month, the Maratha governor of Kalyan acknowledged the receipt of Chimnaji's letter containing the news of this success, and congratulated the victor (Idem Entry No. 17). The shortest route from Kalyan to Chimnaji's camp would not have made less than 280 miles, and the fastest courier could not have accomplished the journey in less than 14 days. This means that the battle was fought on the earliest day possible, which was Dec. 10, 1728.

211) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 22, Entry Nos. 9, 10.

212) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, P. 287.

213) Idem Vol. 13, Entry No. 23.

Since Jan. 1727 Chhatrasal, the Rajput king of Bundelkhand, was ceaselessly harassed by Muhammad Khan Bangash, the imperial governor of Allhabad. Attacks, pillages and pursuits had made the king and his sons fugitives in their own country.²¹⁴ Chhatrasal applied to Bajirao for relief.²¹⁵ The Peshwa undertook to assist the king and started for his country. On the way he compelled the Chand Sultan of Deogad near Nagpur to submit and pay tributes (January 1729).²¹⁶ On March 5, he entered into Bundelkhand at Khajuri and next day encamped at Shikarpur, about 140 kms. south-west of Allhabad.²¹⁷ On the 12th he joined one of the sons of Chhatrasal at Mohba, about 70 miles north of Shikarpur, and on the 13th had a stately meeting with Chhatrasal himself, at Dhamora near Mohba.²¹⁸ Their united armies marched forth and besieged Muhammad Khan Bangash in the fortress of Jaitpur,* about 20 miles west of Mohba. "Muhammad Khan Bangash" wrote Pilaji Jadhav from the Maratha camp on April 4, (1722) "The Subhadar of Allhabad has an army of 20,000 men. At present we have closely surrounded him. Grain is selling at 3 rupees a seer in his camp. We have prevented every manner of provision from reaching him. Within the space of eight

* About 140m. E. Satara; known for its Amba Bhavani temple the family deity of the Chhatrapatis.

214) Later Mughals Vol.2, PP. 230-38.

215) At what particular time and in what manner Chhatrasal approached Bajirao for assistance is not known. On Nov. 29, 1728 and Peshwa informed his brother that he was then in Kadevali district (now in C.P.) and would soon proceed northward, but he mentioned nothing about going to Bundelkhand. (See his letter, Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 13, Entry No. 14). As said above it was in his letter of Dec. 27 that he wrote of his firm decision to march forth to help Chhatrasal. He must have therefore made this decision about Dec. 20, and naturally Chhatrasal must have applied for his protection before that date.

The Maratha Vakil at Delhi wrote to Bajirao on Aug. 1728, and among other things, asked the Peshwa to assure Chhatrasal that he (i.e. Peshwa) would set out to assist the king after Vijaydashami (Oct.1). The Vakil moreover hinted that such an undertaking by Bajirao would be highly appreciated at the imperial court. (Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 13, Entry No.10). W. Irvine says that the growing power of Md. Khan Bangash had given rise to many idle rumours which frightened even the emperor (Later Mughals Vol.2, P. 237). It may therefore be concluded that the question of Bundelkhand was exercising the Peshwa's mind for some time, and that the court intrigues and jealousies induced him to take money somewhere. (See his letters to Chhinnaji, Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 13, Entry Nos. 29, 30 and 33 among others in the same volume).

216) Bajirao to Chhinnaji, Sel. Daf. Vol. 13, Entry No. 36.

217) Bajirao's halts, Balaji Bajirao's Diary Vol.2, P. 230.

218) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, P. 288.

* Muhammad Khan Bangash had taken this fortress from Chhatrasal in Dec. 1728 (Later Mughals Vol. 2, P. 233)

days we shall destroy him, or if he agrees to our terms shall make peace with him".²¹⁹ Kaim Khan, the son of the besieged, attempted to relieve his father. The Marathas overtook him at Supa, 12 miles north-east of Jaitpur. On April 28 a battle was fought in which the Marathas inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Pathans, and Kaim Khan ran away with but 100 men.²²⁰ His camp was plundered and among other things, 3000 horses and 13 elephants were captured.²²¹ On the 29th the armies returned to Jaitpur and continued its investment.²²² The fort was evacuated by the enemy some time after. The Peshwa left Jaitpur on May 23 and reached Poona on July 17.²²³

As a reward for his assistance Bajirao received from Chhatrasal one third part of his territory. The revenues of this part are said to have been 3,076,957 rupees a year.²²⁴ On July 1, 1739 the Peshwa entered into an agreement with Hirdosa, the son of Chhatrasal (who was then dead). One of its articles read. "I (Bajirao) shall protect your kingdom as truly as I protect Poona* and Satara".²²⁵

Bajirao attacks Delhi 1737 :

The victories which the armies of the Marathas won in Malwa and Bundelkhand were the source of the establishment of their power in the north. Since 1729 their armies under the command of Bajirao, Chimnaji Appa, Pilaji Jadhav, Malharrao Holkar, Ranoji Shinde, Tukoji Powar, Jivaji Pawar, Anandrao Bawar and other minor leaders made continuous incursions as far north as they could safely proceed. Their expeditions were too many to mention.²²⁶ Their aim appears to have been to reach Agra and Delhi as invaders.

On Jan. 4, 1735 Kasimbazar wrote to Fort William, "They have a Report of Troubles in Indostan by the Ganimis (Marathas) approaching

219) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 13, Entry No. 45.

220) Idem Vol. 30, P. 289

221) Idem. See also Pilaji's letter, Entry No. 14 of Rajwade, Vol. 3.

222) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, P. 289.

223) Idem; Bajirao's halts, Balaji Bajirao's Diary Vol. 2, P. 230.

224) Later Mughals Vol.2, P. 241.

225) This interesting and important agreement is printed in full in Marathi, on PP. 9-10 of Parasnis, Treaties, Agreements and Sanads.

* Poona was the residence of the Peshwas, and Satara the Maratha capital.

226) Ample new material for fixing the details of these expeditions is available in Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 14, 15, 22 and 30.

towards Agra and the Caundora (Khan Dauran). Comaroody Cawn (Kamar-ud-din Khan, the Vazir) and Sadat Cawn and others are sett out from Dilly to stop their way ----- The foundation of this Report time only can discover".²²⁷ The report was true. On March 2 Pilaji Jadhav, who with Malharrao Holkar, Ranoji Shinde and others was leading the expedition, advised Bajirao, "The Vazir Kamar-ud-din Khan is come from Delhi with an army of about 25,000 men. We had two or three skirmishes with him and captured 2-300 horses and camels ---- At present he is encamped at a distance of 12 kos from our camp".²²⁸ Another letter written to the Peshwa from Dhar on March 14 said, "Khan Dauran Khan, Savai Jaising, Abhay Sing (etc.) with an army of two lakhs, numerous Arabs and artillery have entered Rampur district (c.p.). Malharrao Holkar and Ranoji Shinde engaged them in a warm action. For eight days all provision and fodder was prevented from entering the Mughal camp, and many horses and camels have been taken (by the Marathas)".²²⁹ The Marathas so much harried the huge but spiritless Mughal armies that the Vazir found it necessary to but peace by paying a large sum of money and returned to Delhi.²³⁰

On July 7 (1735) Malharrao Holkar and Ranoji Shinde arrived at Poona to see the Peshwa, who went out some distance to greet them.²³¹ Obviously plans for future action were discussed and a decision reached. On Oct. 8 the Peshwa left Poona.²³² In the beginning of December he entered Malwa and conquered the fort of Mandavgad, which guarded one pass into the north.²³³ He then bent his march towards Rajputana. About the end of January²³⁴ 1736 he appeared in front of Mewar and sent his demands to its Rana, Jaggat Singh. "Bajirao is come" wrote the Rana to his own chief minister "and he will derive a reputation from having compelled a contribution from me, besides his demand of land. He has commenced with my country and will take twenty times more from me than other Rajas - if a proportionate demand is made it might be complied with. Mulhar (e.g. Malharrao Holkar) came last year but this

227) Beng. Pub. Con. Vol. 10, Con. Jan. 7, 1735.

228) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 14 Entry No. 22.

229) Idem Entry No. 23.

230) Idem Entry No. 39.

231) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 22, Entry No. 293.

232) Idem Entry No. 308.

233) Idem Entry No. 307.

234) Bajirao's letter to his mother from Newar is dated Jan. 25, 1736.

was nothing - Bajerow this, and he is powerful."²³⁵

A treaty was made with the Rana who agreed to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 1,60,000. ²³⁶

On March 5, 1736 an important meeting between Bajirao and Savai Jaising took place at Manoharpur near Jaipur.²³⁷ This Rajput prince, though an imperial officer of high rank, had always been friendly to the Marathas. He now undertook to get Bajirao's demands satisfied by the emperor and make peace between the Marathas and the Mughals. Bajirao's terms were high. He said that emperor must appoint him subhadar of Malwa, give him a Jagir "up to the banks of the Chambal River", pay him 50 Lakhs of rupees from Bengal treasury cede sundry other Jagirs, forts and places in the north and in the south and grant him a personal interview at Agra. The embarrassed emperor merely made equivocal answer which put a stop to the negotiations.²³⁸ Bajirao however felt proud at the approach made to him. "Even the emperor" he wrote to his mother "is desirous of my friendship."²³⁹

He returned to Poona on June 23.²⁴⁰ On Aug. 31 Shahu admitted him to an audience at Satara, and on Oct. 26 he set out on his grand expedition into the north.²⁴¹ He appears to have determined to make the emperor feel the weight of Maratha arms. On Dec. 4 he was joined by Malharrao Holkar and Ranoji Shinde at Bhelsa,²⁴² about 140 miles north-east of Indore. On Feb. 13, 1737 they stormed the fortress of Ager,²⁴³ about 230 miles north of Bhelsa and 68 east of Agra. In the beginning of March Bajirao reached Farodabad, about 24 miles east of Agra.²⁴⁴ Another party under Pilaji Jadhav and others were surprised by Sadat Khan when they were wounded.²⁴⁵ Sadat Khan became elated with this small victory. He informed the emperor that he had inflicted such a

235) Tod, Rajasthan Vol. I. P. 422, n.2.

236) Idem P. 423 n.

237) Sardesai, Riyasat Madhya Vibhag Vol. 2, P. 356

At this time Jaising made stately presents to Bajirao, see Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, PP. 322-24

238) Bajirao's terms and the emperor's answer, Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 15, 95-96.

239) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 14., Entry No. 51.

240) Bajirao's halts, Balaji Bajirao's Diary Vol. 2, P. 235.

241) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 22, Entry No. 335.

242) Sardesai, Riyasat Madhya Vibhag Vol. 2, P. 359.

243) Idem.

244) News letter from Delhi, Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 15, Entry No. 17.

245) Idem.

crushing defeat upon the Marathas that they would not trouble the empire any more. Bajirao came to know of these boastings from his Delhi Vakil. "I decided therefore" wrote he to his brother on April 5 "to put Delhi on fire and show the emperor that the Marathas are still alive... We moved on March 18, and after making two halts only, appeared in front of Delhi on March 28... I could have then easily burnt down the city, but it is a great place. Besides, it would be of no benefit to destroy the empire".²⁴⁶ On the 30th two battles were fought within 3 miles from the capital. The Mughals suffered a great loss,²⁴⁷ but reinforcements were nigh and Bajirao retreated. "We have laid waste" he advised Chimnaji Appa "all around Delhi, and shall do the same up to the Jamma and Panipat. The Mughal will have nothing to eat."²⁴⁸ Meanwhile Nizam-ul-mulk was reported to be on his way to Delhi to save the empire. Bajirao therefore left those parts and returned. He reached Poona on June 7, 1737.²⁴⁹

The Nizam reached Delhi in the beginning of July. He agreed to drive the Marathas out of the north, on condition that he would be richly rewarded by the emperor.²⁵⁰ He met Bajirao at Bhopal on Dec. 13, 1737. As usual the Marathas soon surrounded him closely and cut off his communications. "Since yesterday" wrote Bajirao on Jan. 8, 1738 "the Nabob is standing still ... We have strictly prevented grain, fuel and other articles from reaching him camp... His horses are living upon leaves of trees; his Pathan upon service bullocks." The same day the Nizam sued for peace which was made on favourable terms to the Marathas.²⁵¹

Nadir Shah's Invasion 1739 :

Nadir Shah invaded India in 1739. He entered Delhi on Feb. 26 and left the city on May 5.²⁵² Giving one reason why he undertook the invasion, the Persian monarch is said to have declared, "The Mughal

246) Bajirao to Chhaji, Life and Letters of Brahmendra Swami, Letter No. 27.

247) Bajirao's letter (Idem) gives a graphic description of these events. See also Later Mughals Vol. 2, PP. 288-98.

248) His Letter, Idem.

249) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 22, Entry No. 357.

250) Letter to the Peshwa, Aug. 10, 1737, Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 15, Entry No. 53.

251) Sardesai, Riyasat Madhya Vibhag Vol. 1, PP. 372.

252) The Abstract of For William to Co. Dec. 24, 1739 contains the following succinct account of Nadir Shah's invasion. "Shah Nadir, King of Persia after the conquest of Candahar made himself master of Cabul, Province, passed the river Attock and Marched towards Dilly, the Suvgha (governors) submitting or making little resistance. After an Engagement with Mahomet Shuwa (the Mughal emperor's) Forces near Dilly, the two kings had an interview,

empire is falling to pieces-the nobles are doing what they like, the emperor is unmindful of his duties, and the government is dissolved. Consequently the Marathas have grown formidable. All this we came to know and then bethought to ourselves. 'The king of Persia have since the beginning supported the emperors of Hindostan'; and so we have come here. We have no intention to take the emperor's place. We shall settle him firmly on the throne and retire."²⁵³ Nadir Shah may have declared thus, because, before he left Delhi he sent two Firmans, one to Shahu and another to Bajirao, saying. "We are going back after re-establishing the emperor. As you are ancient servants of the emperor. We order you to act in his commands."²⁵⁴ In any case Nadir Shah would have been right in saying that there was a real danger of the Mughal empire being destroyed by the Marathas, but his own invasion proved a deathblow to that empire.

Nadir Shah, however, would have been surprised to know that Muhammad Shah, the reigning emperor, relied upon the protection of the Marathas against the invader. On June 21, 1738 Patna advised Fort William that Nadir Shah was advancing and in a postscript they added: "The king (Muhammad Shah) hath given the Province of Ougene (Ujjain) into the hands of Badjrow (Bajirao) whose forces --- are on their march to prevent the Persian Invasion in conjunction with Nazar Mulmulck (Nizam-ul-mulk) and Coomarooley Caw (Kamar-ud-dinkhan)²⁵⁵. But it appears that the emperor could not meet all the demands from Bajirao, who, therefore, withdrew his help.²⁵⁶ What the result would have been in case the Mughals and Marathas had joined their hands to oppose the

Mahomet Shaw at a second interview was made Prisoner by the king of Persia who seized and entered Dilly, made himself Master of the Crown Jewels, Treasure and Royalties and Plundered the city. He then left Mahomet Shaw in Possession of the Throne and marched back towards Persia with Immence riches Siccas (coins) were stamped in Nadirs name -- 30 May, 1739. Shaw Nadir's stamps were broken" (Coast and Bay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 4 PP. 309-10).

In his account of this Invasion (Later Mughals Vol. 2) Sir J. Sarkar has created some confusion by mixing up old and new style dates.

Many important Marathi letters written from the spot will be found in Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vols. 15, 22 and 30; Rajwade Vol. 6; Itihas Sangrah, April and Sept. 1909. The Bengal Public Consultations Vol. 13 is full of new information.

253) This is an important but mutilated letter written from Delhi in March 1739, Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, Entry No. 226.

254) Bajirao to ChhimaJI, Idem Vol. 15, Entry No. 30. See also Kincaid, History Vol. 2, P. 236. (appendix)

255) Bang. Pub. Con. Vol. 13, PP. 219-20.

256) See Idem P. 325.

invader, it is difficult to say.²⁵⁷

Trichinopoly surrendered March 13, 1741 :

Maratha armies made frequent incursions in the south of the 1730. "The Inland Provinces" wrote Fort St. George on Jan. 31, 1734 "where the cotton usually grew, for these three years past have been miserably ravaged by the Morattas".²⁵⁸ In 1732 they penetrated up to Bangalore.²⁵⁹ But it was in 1740 that they frightened the province by their rapid progress. Early in February of that year about 60,000 horse under Fattasing and Raghuji Bhosale appeared near Golkonda. In the beginning of April they reached Karnul, the Nabob of which town made peace with them by paying a large sum of money. So did the Nabob of Kadappa, when the army reached that place next. Meanwhile letters were sent to the Nabob of Arcot. Muhammad Dost Ali Khan, asking him to pay the tribute of several lakhs of rupees. The Nabob refused and prepared to march against the Marathas (April 29).²⁶⁰

On May 9 a severe battle was fought between the two parties at the Damalcheruva pass in the Chandragiri taluk of the present North Arcot district. "The Nabob Doast Alley Caun" says the Madras Public Consultation of May 12, 1740 "Land his youngest son Hussain Alley Caun, and several the persons of note had been killed in an Engagement with the Morettas the Pass of the Hills, which divide this province from Carrapa (Kadappa), the particulars of which Engagement according to what we yet hear are as follows. The Nabob was lying at the pass with no more than ---- two Thousand Horse, and about Ten thousand Peons* ---- the Morattas being then on the other side the pass; some overtures were'

257) Many rumours were current during Nadir Shah's stay in India. One of them is of particular interest. On April 5, 1739 Patna wrote to Fort William. "it is very remarkable what the Cassid (courier) says that but one Man pretends to have seen Nadir Sha and that he has not seated himself on the Throne, but that Mahomet Sha has still the name of King, and that the Siccas have not yet been Stamped in the Persian King's name; that the Nabob at Patna did on advise from Dilly coin in one days time Eleven hundred Gold Moheirs and fourteen thousand Siccas (rupees) but then immediately put a stop to coining any more in Sha Nadars Name. These rupees are now at two percent discount and the Gold Moheirs are each four annas worso thaln Mahomet Shas. All which seem to confirm the Current Report that the Persian King is not really in the country but that the whole is an intrigue of Nazar Mulmulicks (Nizam-ul-mulk's)" Beng. Pub. Con. Vol. 13, PP. 135-36.

258) Fort St. George to Co. Jan. 31, 1734. Coast and Bay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 3, P. 300.

259) Fort St. George to Co. Jan. 13, 1733; Public Despatches to England (1727-33).

260) Country Correspondence (1740) Nos. 14, 15, 27, 31, 32, 43.

* Native Soldiers.

made by the last for an accommodation, but not receiving any answer from the Nabob that was satisfactory, the Morattas found means to bring about ten thousand Horse through a wood, and the 9th in the morning they appeared in the Nabob's Rear, at the same time the rest of the Moratta Army possessed themselves of the Hills came down in his Front, the Nabobs Forces were soon surrounded, and the Enemy charging them with Fire Arms, the Nabob, his son Hussain Ally Caun and several others about him were soon killed; after which the Morattas having proclaimed that if the rest would disperse they should not be pursued, the Nabob forces soon fled".²⁶¹ The Maratha captured the rich baggage of their enemies and marched forth to Arcot (About May 12). They thoroughly plundered the town and the surrounding places, while one of their parties advanced within a few hours march of Madras. Sabdar Ali, the son and successor of the late Nabob, struck peace with them by agreeing to pay "Thirty-Eight Lakhs of Rupees". Twelve lakhs were paid and the Marathas retired beyond the hills.²⁶²

Chanda Sahib, the son-in-law of the late Nabob, was in possession of Trichinopoly. Mutual jealousies led Sabdar Ali to suspect him of treachery and he applied to the Maratha generals for assistance. A fresh treaty was concluded between him and the generals on Nov. 16 (1740). Its main provision was that the two parties should immediately besiege the fort of Trichinopoly.²⁶³

In the same month their armies again appeared in those parts. They demanded large sums of money from the European Settlements on that coast. The latter were concerned at this unexpected danger, but refused to pay anything.²⁶⁴ On Dec. 14 a party of the Marathas entered the Dutch Factory of Porto Novo, and carried away money, specie and

261) Range 240, Vol. 4, PP. 144-45. More details are given in a letter which Pondichery wrote to their Company on Oct. 1, 1740 (n.s.); Correspondence (1740), No. 34.

262) Fort St. George to Co. Sept. 5, 1740, Coast and Bay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 4 P. 322.

263) See the articles of the treaty in Ilihas Sangrah, Nov. 1910, PP. 68-69.

One strange article was "If the united forces of the two parties should take any other places, and if any money or valuable goods found in them, one third thereof should go to the Nabob". Perhaps this is what Fort St. George thought was a "scheme" of the Nabob to plunder the European Settlements. As the Marathas demanded large sums from the settlements at this very time, such a conclusion was quite natural. (Fort. St. George to Co. Sept. 26, 1741; Public Dispatches to England Vol. 13.)

264) The English at Fort St. David and Fort St. George were asked to pay 300,000 pagodas in cash besides "a Tribute of 40 years past, the amount not known." (Coast and Bay Abstract letters Received Vol. 4, P. 330). From the French 500, 000 pagodas were demanded

other effects.²⁶⁵ On Jan. 14 (1741) another party made a brisk attack upon Fort St. David and plundered its "washing town".²⁶⁶ The main body of the Marathas was by now engaged in besieging Chanda Sahib at Trichinopoly. "They made no attack upon the place, but contented themselves with guarding all the passes to the Town that no provision or any other assistance should get in." The besieged was reduced to a miserable plight in no time. His brother Bada Shaib attempted to relieve him, but the Marathas waylaid and killed him in a "smart battle". The next day (March 13, 1741) Trichinopoly surrendered, Chanda Sahib and his son were made prisoners.²⁶⁷ On April 5 the town was left in charge of Murarrao Ghorpade, who commanded 4,000 horse and who was well acquainted with those parts.²⁶⁸ The rest of the Maratha army returned to their country, taking with them Chanda Sahib and his son.

After the fall of Trichinopoly both the English and French Settlements hastened to send rich presents to Raghuji and Fattesing. The generals received the English presents at Trichinopoly, but those from the French did not reach them as the Marathas had left the province before they were dispatched.²⁶⁹

Marathas seize Murshidabad May 1742 :

In 1742 the Marathas made the first invasion of Bengal. "In the beginning of April", wrote Fort William to Bombay on May 31, 1742, "We were alarmed with an account that a large Body of Morattoes had Entered the Country and were got as far as Nangpoor (Nagpur) whereupon the Nabob (Aliwardi Khan) hastened his return from Cattack, and having advanced as far as Budwan²⁷⁰ with a considerable Force he there formed

(Correspondance Tome III, P. 238.). The Maratha generals asserted that they were entitled to these tributes, because Fort St. David and Pondichery formerly belonged to them, and were only rented to the Europeans. See Raghuji's letters to the French governor (Letters and conventions PP. 158-164) and to Fort St. David (F. R. Fort St. David, Con. Vol. 5, P. 6).

265) Fort St. George to Co. Jan. 31, 1741; Coast and Bay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 4, P. 332.

266) F. R. Fort St. David, Con. Vol. 5, P. 7.

267) Fort. St. George to Co. Sept. 26, 1741. (Public Despatches to England, Vol. 13, PP. 11-12). This is an important letter giving full account of these events.

268) Idem; for Murarrao's commission, see Ilihas Sangrah, Dec. 1910, P. 81.

269) Fort St. George to Co. Sept. 26, 1741. Public Despatches to England, Vol. 13, PP. 13 & 17.

270) Bardwan about 53 m. N. W. Calcutta

271) 11 m, N, Bardwan

a camp and strongly Entrenched himself; the Morattoes army approaching surrounded this camp and cutt of all supplys whatever from going to it, and demanded a fourth part of the Revenues of these provinces for several years past, which the Nabob refused to comply with, and after several skirmishes was determined to force a passage through them; on which a Battle ensued (April 27) wherein great numbers were killed on both sides; however, the Nabob made good a retreat to Ball Kissen²⁷¹ serai but with no more than 3500 horse or thereabouts, the rest of his army being either killed in the action or having deserted him. With this party he was again surrounded and in another engagement (May 3) broke throw (through) the Morattoes and got to Cuttua ²⁷² and so to Loll Bog²⁷³ near the city of Muxidavad ²⁷⁴ when he again Encamped and Fortfied himself, the Morattoes still following him, which put the city in such a consternation that many of the principal Inhabitants fled and among the rest Futtichund. ²⁷⁵ After this the Morattoes having plundered Futtichunds and some other particular Houses and Burned Hadjee Hamets (our Nabobs brothers) camp at Amanee Bazar Left the city and are gone either to Beerbohim ²⁷⁶ or Paunchat²⁷⁷ with a resolution to pass the Rains there, and then (as they have sent the Nabob word) to return. On the Morattas retreat from Muxidaved the Nabob left his camp and went to his palace".²⁷⁸

Marathas appear everywhere, 1749 :

By this incursion into the eastern parts, the Marathas reached the limits of their advances in all directions during Shahu's reign. In 1726 they established their power in the neighborhoods of Ahmadabad (west); in 1737 they made an attack upon Delhi (north); in 1741 they reduced Trichinopoly (south); and in 1742 they entered Murshidabad (east). During the remaining six years of Shahu's reign (1743-49) they visited no new places but carried on their incursions, attacks and invasions in the

272) Katwa about 35 m. N. E. Bardwan and 43 m. S. Murshidabad

273) Lalbagh.

274) Murshidabad, the official residence of the Nabab of Bengal.

275) Fattochand Jagatset, "the wealthiest banker in the empires." Orme, History Vol.2, P.29

276) Birbhum, a subdivision of the district of the same name in Bengal.

277) Panchet, in Manbhum dist. Bengal.

278) Beng. Pub. Con. Vol. 15, P. 355; See Idem PP. 245, 275, 282, 288, 294, 295, 296, 301, 303, 305-06, 307, 313, 314, 333, 347-48.

provinces which they had already overrun. The Holkars, Shindes and Pawars in the north, the Gaikwars, Dhabhades and Kadambs in the west, the Naiks and the Ghorpades in the south, and Raghuji Bhosale in the east were the prominent leaders of these expeditions. It is not necessary to give a detailed account of these events because it will appear like telling the same story over and over again. The extension of the Maratha power during Shahu's reign has been made sufficiently clear in the preceding pages. At the time of the King's death the Maratha horse and foot had traversed a territory of about 1300 miles in length from north to south, and about 1100 miles in breadth from east to west.

Chapter 6

Wars with the Portuguese (1730 - 40) and the Sidis (1733 - 36)

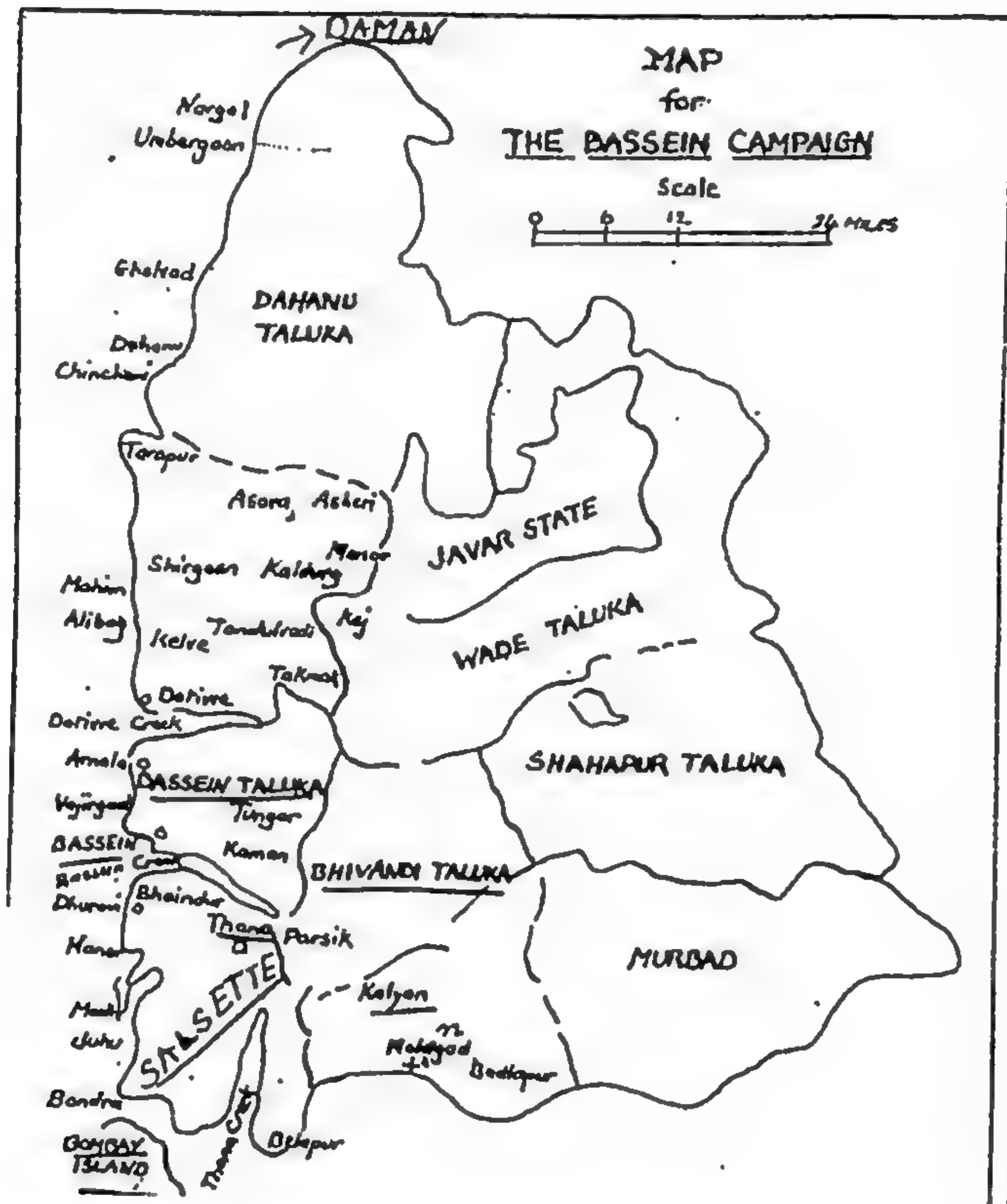
Two "religious" Wars :

It was during Shahu's reign that the Marathas, for the first time in their history, inflicted a crushing defeat upon an European power and deprived it of its richest possessions in India. During the same reign, yet another attempt to subdue the small principality of the Sidis of Janjira was made without any appreciable success. In a sense both can be described as "religious" wars. The Christian Portuguese as well as the Muhammedan Sidis had for long deeply offended the Hindus by oppressive acts committed in the name of their religions. The Marathas had never been fanatical people; but they were not wanting in the zeal to protect the followers of their own faith from tyrannical practices of others. The main cause of the wars of the Maratha with the Portuguese and the Sidis was, as will be made clear hereafter, of a religious nature.

Control over Western Coast :

The political cause common to both wars was no less important. For a long time the Maratha King and his generals were endeavouring to bring the whole of the Western Coast of India under their control. It is already mentioned that, in the treaty which Kanhoji Angre made with Shahu in Feb. 1714, provision was made for yearly campaigns in the Konkan "to root out the enemies such as the Sidi and the Portuguese".¹ These latter two were the only "enemies" to be subdued on that side, the English Settlement of Bombay having as yet attained no political importance. The Interior of the Konkan and Deccan countries as far west as the Nizam's province of Aurangabad was in Maratha hands. They held the two important towns of Kalyan and Bhlvandi, between

1) Vide Supra P. 116.



which places and the Portuguese province of Bassein, flowed a narrow river. The country round about these towns belonged to them. They were, moreover, equipped with an increasingly powerful navy and possessed such convenient ports as Kolaba, Vijayadurg and Suvarndurg. If, therefore, they could acquire control over the coast from Daman to Goa - a great part of it was already in their possessions - it would be a real achievement, not so much because of the conquests of new lands as the accession of strength to their native kingdom. The geographical and political boundaries of Maharashtra would, in such a case, be the same. Hence the importance of the two wars.

1. The War with the Portuguese

Portuguese Possessions in 1700 :

The possessions of the Portuguese in India were all situated on the western coast. The island fortress of Diu fell into their hands in 1520² and had ever since belonged to them. To the east of Diu and within; the present districts of Surat and Thana, stretched the province of Daman. There were 300 villages and several forts within its jurisdiction.³ The chief among the latter were Dahanu,⁴ Mahim-⁵ Kelve and Tarapur.⁶ To the south of the province of Daman lay that of Bassein, the richest among the Portuguese provinces in India. It was known as "the Province of the North." The island of Salsette, adjoining Bombay, formed its part; and more than 2,000 villages were under its jurisdiction.⁸; About 53 miles south of Bassein stood the sea-fort of Chaul which the Portuguese ceded to the Marathas in 1740. Finally there was the province of Goa with the capital of that name. Here resided the Viceroy who had the supreme authority over all the Portuguese places in India. The districts of Bardes

2) Notices da India Vol. I, Pl. 1, PP. 177-78.

3) Idem P. 58. 2

4) 78 m. N. Bombay.

5) 48 m. N. Bombay

6) 64 m. N. Bombay

7) Next to Goa, Bassein was the wealthiest city in the Portuguese territory. Its inhabitants belonged to an upper class. In the words of a contemporary chronical, "The city is noble in its edifices and inhabitants; for kingdom which has not its descendants there... attracted by the healthy climate and extensive villages which they inherited, from hence it comes about that there are such numbers of Dons that some call the place Don Bacalm."

8) Idem P. 28.

and Salsette formed an important part of the province of Goa.

Maratha - Portuguese relations 1670 - 1708 :

It appears that the relations between the Portuguese and the Marathas were never of a friendly nature. Shivaji was early "impressed with the idea of driving the Portuguese out of India."⁹ The first actual collusion between them occurred in 1670, when an indecisive naval battle was fought off Daman. In 1674 Shivaji sent an army to Kalyan to exact Chauth from the Portuguese. Though they did not admit his claim to levy it, they used to pay the tribute. In June 1683, Sambhaji attacked Choul, but failed to make any impression upon the fortress. In October the Viceroy invaded Sambhaji's territory with a considerable army. "The Portuguese in their warfare exhibited greater barbarity than the Maratha freebooters; they not only carried fire and sword into the defenceless villages, but destroyed the temples, and attempted to convert their prisoners by force".¹⁰ The Marathas continued the siege of Choul, took the island of Karanja near Bombay and attacked many places between Daman and Bassein. The Viceroy at last made overtures of peace, but as Sambhaji demanded a heavy sum of money, negotiations were broken off.¹¹ Hostilities, however, soon came to an end, and no more serious conflicts on land broke out between the Portuguese and the Marathas till a few years after Shahu's enthronement.

Portuguese Oppressions :

The main cause of the hostilities was the oppressive practices of the Portuguese in the name of their religion. Chimnaji Appa, who conquered their province of the North, often made "heavy Complaints against (them) in Regard to their Religion, the sufferings of the poor Gentues (Hindus), orphans etc., (and) Inquisitions".¹² Khafi Khan says that whenever an inhabitant of their country, professing Hindu or Muhammedan faith, died leaving children of tender age, the Portuguese "took both the Children and property under their charge ... and made

9) Danvers, the Portuguese In India Vol. 2, P. 367.

10) Idem P. 368-69.

11) Idem PP. 368-70.

12) Capt. Inchbird's letter to the Governor of Bombay, Bom. Pub. Con. Vol.II. Con. May 16, 1740. There are numerous Marathi letters showing how much the Hindus suffered at the hands of the Portuguese, and how much it was hoped that the Marathas would relieve the sufferers. See Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 16. Entry Nos. 1, 11, 16.

them Christians and slaves".¹³ They did not allow religious mendicants, Hindu or Muhammedan, to enter their places, nor was "the call of prayer and public devotion" permitted within their lands.¹⁴ As regards the Court of Inquisition Mr. Grose wrote in 1755, "So consummately anti - Christianized may this tribunal be pronounced, from all the manifest motives and methods of its procedure that if our blessed Saviour himself was to return on earth into any place under the jurisdiction of the inquisition, there is no doubt to be made but it would burn him for a heretic if he ventured to preach his own pure and unsophisticated doctrine or was to deny any of those points of theirs on which they have founded the insolence of their tyranny and the revenues of their avarice".¹⁵

Describing the affects of these prosecutions on the natives Mr. Grose added. "Nothing gave the neighbouring Gentoo princes and Morattces (Marathas) especially, so great an aversion for the Portuguese nation as this report of their cruelty on a religious account; for, themselves being all strictly and unreservedly observers of toleration in their dominions, they hold such persecutions in the highest horror, which had not a little share in the Morattoes determination to invade them as they did and strip them of their territory."¹⁶

Mughal Emperor Provoked :

Not only the Maratha king but the Mughal emperor also was indignant at the Portuguese. When Mr. Surman was at Delhi (June 1715-May1717) to obtain a firman for the E. I. Company's Settlements in India, the grand Vazir pressed him to assist against the Portuguese, because they "forced the Moguls subjects in Viziapur (Bijapur) and Deccan to turn Christians". Mr. Surman answered that the English were at peace with the Portuguese which they could not break. Upon this the Vazir remarked, "he would engago the French".¹⁷

13) Kiliot Vol. VII, P. 211.

14) Idem PP. 211, 344.

15) Travals Vol. 1, P. 167. On Feb. 27, 1719 the Company wrote to Bombay that the Portuguese thought it "meritorious by anyways whatsoever to destroy hereties." (Letter Book, Vol. 18, P. 683). On another occasion they said "you unchristian Portuguese neighbours." (Idem Vol. 17, P. 608).

16) Grose Travels Vol. 1, P. 167. The Inquisition was not abolished in India till 1814. Danvers, The Portuguese in India, Introduction P. XLI.

17) Bom. to Co. Dec. 7, 1717; Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 1, P. 266.

Maratha - Portuguese hostilities 1717 - 1730 :

Though the hostilities between the Marathas and the Portuguese did not assume a serious aspect till 1730, these commenced as early as 1717. In that year a body of 500 Maratha horse entered the province of Salesette near Goa, and meeting with little resistance carried off more than 400,000 xerafins. "for the most part in silver and the sacred ornaments of the Churches."¹⁸ Next year another body approached within three miles of the province but did not enter¹⁹ it. In 1720, the Senapati Khanderao Dabade entered the bounds of Daman with 200 horse and some foot. The garrison of the place suddenly sallied forth drove off the Marathas, compelling them to abandon 300 cattle which they had assembled.²⁰

In Nov. 1723 the General of the North and the governor of Kalyan came to an open rupture over the question of their jurisdictions. The General imprisoned the headmen of some Maratha villages. The governor, Ramchandra Pant and Pilaji Jadhav retaliated by making an incursion into the Portuguese country. On Nov. 17,8000 Maratha horse and numerous foot entered the province of Bassein. They marched forth "reducing the villages on the right and left to ashes ... out of the fertile country of Bacaim and all its vast jurisdictions the only place untouched was the island of Salsette". They took 20,000 cattle, a quantity of provisions and a number of prisoners. From Bassein they went into the districts of Daman, everywhere exacting their usual contributions. The General of the North was in the end obliged to satisfy their demands and a provisional treaty of peace was made on Dec. 30, 1723.²¹ It was provided in the treaty that the Portuguese should send a proper person to Satara to arrange a permanent treaty. No such person was sent and peace was consequently broken. In 1725 the land and sea forces of the Marathas united to make an attack upon the Portuguese country; but the unusually sever winter of that year frustrated their design.²² In May

18) Noticias da India Vol. 2, Pt. 1, P. 2

19) Idem P. 13.

20) Idem P. 51.

21) Noticias da India Vol. 2. LPl. 1, PP. 168-80. For treaty. Biker Vol. 6. PP. 12-14. See also Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 5, PP. 221-22. Bom. to Co. Jan. 3, 1724, Bombay Letters Received.

22) Noticias da India Vol. 2. Pl. 1, PP. 196-97.

1727 Pilaji Jadhav marched through the plains of Daman capturing many cattle and making some prisoners.²³ Next year in the same month another body of the Marathas devastated "the fertile jurisdiction of Damao (Daman)" and carried away 10,000 cattle. At the same time the governor of Kalyan attempted to take by surprise Mount Asheri, a fortified hillock in the province of Bassein. His attempt failed, and a similar attack upon the fort of Manora also failed.²⁴

Portuguese Reprisals 1728 :

In the same year (1728) the Viceroy ordered the General of the North to make reprisals by making an attack upon town of Kalyan. Accordingly, on June 28 the General embarked from Thana with 500 Christians and 300 Sepoys in 42 Galevate and 6 war vessels. After navigating all the night they disembarked at dawn (June 29) near the town. They were attacked by a body of Maratha horse whom they repulsed. Forcing their way through the gates of the town they attempted to scale the wall of its fort; but the great height of the walls and the "quantities of Stones" that were showered upon them, made them give up the attempt. Retreat was sounded, and the town was sacked. The spoils enriched the soldiers who set fire to the City and reduced it to ashes with all Pagodas* and Mosques". Three pieces of artillery, two mortars and several prisoners were carried away to Bassein. "Sixteen horses ... being quite intractable were killed".²⁵

Another attack by the Portuguese 1730 :

This sudden attack upon Kalyan, and particularly the rich booty carried away by the Portuguese (which was worth over a lakh of rupees), so much exasperated Shahu that he "threatened desolutions to their whole country".²⁶ The governor of Bassein however became elated by his success "declared war by proclamation" against the Marathas on April 28, 1730 . He divided his forces into three parties who were to conduct simultaneous attacks against Kalyan, Bhivande and the hinterland. He headed the party against Kalyan and set out the same day (April 28), with several war-vessels carrying a number of guns and

23) Idem P. 205.

24) Idem P. 203.

25) Noticias da India Vol. 2, Pl. 2, PP. 286-89.

26) Bom. to Co. Sept. 30, 1728. Bombay Letters Received Vol. 1A.

* Hindu temples.

mortars. On reaching the city (April 29) he constructed a battery and kept an incessant fire throughout the day. Unfortunately for him the Marathas were this time well prepared for a surprise, and they gave him such a reception that he had to beat a hasty retreat. Two of his men were killed and several wounded. The party sent against Bhivandi met with no better success, their captain being mortally wounded. It returned with the loss of its commandant, serjeant and 18 soldiers.²⁷

Marathas Overpower the Portuguese 1730-31 :

This aggression served as sufficient excuse for the Marathas to invade the Portuguese territory. Early in May 1730, the Peshwa sent Pilaji Jadhav with Mahadeo, the Governor of Kalyan. Immediately after the meeting, the two generals commenced the invasion.

On May 18 they besieged Camba, the nearest place to Kalyan, in the province of Bassein. They battered it so heavily that within twenty-four hours the fort was surrendered and its captain was made a prisoner. On May 23 they attacked the pallisade of Saibana, which stood on the opposite side of Kalyan. On the third day its captain and other officers were killed in a smart battle, and its garrison fled at night by different roads. The Marathas then "entered this important post fortified with 5 pieces of artillery".²⁸ About the same time they marched up to Manor²⁹ and Asheri,³⁰ taking sundry forts and ports as well as several officers of distinction, and burning a great number of villages.³⁰

Francisco Guerra d 'Musqueits, the acting General of the North, was absolutely unprepared to meet the enemy. He had neither men nor ammunition. On May 26 he wrote to the governor of Bombay soliciting for immediate succours. The governor apprehended worse consequences from the Marathas becoming masters of Salsette, and decided to send 200 musketeers and 250 Sepoys with their proper officers.³² The men left Bombay in 6 light vessels and reached Thana on the night of June 1. Next day 1500 Marathas attacked Parsik, adjoining

27) Noticias da India Vol. 2, Pt. 2, PP. 337-39.

28) Noticias da India Vol. 2, Pt. 2, PP. 342-46.

29) Portuguese "Manora"; about 36 n. N. W. Kalyan.

30) Portuguese "Asserim"; about 41n. N. Kalyan.

31) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 7, Con. May 30, 1730.

32) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 7, Con. May 30, 1730.

Thana. This was an important place because it guarded the dry pass of Salsette. The Marathas fought the whole day but were repulsed with the loss of many men.³³

At this time an attempt to reconcile the two parties was made and negotiations opened. The simple terms asked by the Marathas throw light on the cause of the war. They demanded (1) that the Portuguese authorities should not molest their Hindu subjects, as was done by "prosecuting them with false testimony which caused them to be arrested and condemned"; to prevent such occurrences they should assign certain villages to those subjects and allow them to observe their religious customs freely; (2) that the Hindu minors and orphans whom the Marathas had taken under protection should not be troubled in any way; (3) and that "the lands of the dominion of the King of Portugal shall pay to Sau (Shahu) Raja what stipulated in the lands of the Mogol."³⁴

These proposals were not accepted by the Portuguese, who, however, prolonged the negotiations to gain time; for they were hoping to be reinforced from Goa after the monsoon. The Marathas knew this, and, without waiting to see the end of the negotiations (which were taking place at Thana), they marched northwards and took possession of the mount of Chandavari, which stands between the forts of Manoraland and Mahim. Next, they occupied the hills of Takmak and Kamandrug, both to the south of Chandavari. Finally they made themselves master of fortified hillock of Gaydan, opposite the bounds of Bassein. In these conquests they took a vast booty, and "began to grant safe conducts to the corumbis or husbandmen to cultivate the lands (on) paying a certain tribute to them".³⁵ In November (1730) they made an unsuccessful attempt to take the village of Colwa, which was situated on the other side of the river opposite to Thana. Through this village lay a passage to the island of Salsette, fordable at low water.³⁶ The number of their men increased "daily" and in the first week of December they gathered a large body at Bhiwandi threatening to attack the city of Bassein itself.³⁷

33) Noticias da India Vol. 2, Pt. 2, PP. 352, 354-55.

34) Noticias da India Vol. 2, Pt. 2, PP. 352, 356-57.

35) Idem PP. 359-60.

36) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 7, Con. Nov. 20, 1730.

37) Idem, Con. Dec. 4, 1730.

On Jan. 30, 1731 Bombay wrote to the Company, "The Portuguese reputation is so low reduced that they will scarce regain the lost land."³⁸

On Dec. 31 (1730) there came into the harbour of Bombay two Portuguese frigates with a few soldiers on board. They were immediately sent to Thana and the English detachment was recalled (Jan. 30, 1731).³⁹ As the Marathas had made a second attack upon Manora (Feb. 16) and were prepared to enter the island of Salsette, the General of the North again requested the governor of Bombay to send some men (beginning of April). 30 men were sent from Bombay.⁴⁰ They reached Thana on April 13 and remained in the district till the end of the following November.⁴¹

Hostilities continued till the end of the year (1731). On April 20 the Marathas attacked the coastal village of Kelve, about 44 miles north of Bombay. On April 27 the Portuguese fired a few shots against Bhiwandi, and next day against Kalyan.⁴² But both parties were getting tired of this prolonged fighting. In June the governor of Kalyan made some proposal of peace and sent to Bassein one Raghu Pant for settling a treaty. An agreement was reached and a treaty arranged (June 22)⁴³ Raghu Pant went to Kalyan to get it confirmed by the governor, but after a week he returned with new proposals. The Portuguese General thought that the Marathas were playing for a time. He threw Raghu Pant in prison and sent men to dislodge the enemy from places which they had occupied.⁴⁴

Treaty concluded Jan. 30, 1732 :

At last in December the governor of Kalyan requested the governor of Bombay (Mr. Robert Cowan) to act as a mediator and arrange a peace "between the Portuguese and Sou Raja". Cowan undertook the task. Both parties sent accredited agents to Bombay. They reached the island on Jan. 6, 1732. On the 30th a treaty was concluded, a full translation of which is appended to this chapter. It mainly provided that there should be "a firm, true and sincere peace of commerce and correspondence" between the two States; that the Marathas should evacuate the places they had occupied; and that they should be entitled to buy from the

38) Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol. 1A, P. 360.

39) Bom. to Co. Jan. 22, 1731, Bombay Letters Received Vol. 1A.

40) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 7, Con. April 11, 1731.

41) Noticias da India Vol. 2, Pt. 2, P. 392.

42) Idem P. 392 sqq.

43) For the terms of the treaty see Idem P. 397.

44) Noticias da India Vol. 2, Pt. 2, PP. 399-402.

Portuguese all manner of warlike stores on paying the usual price and duties. The treaty was faithfully carried out by the Marathas.⁴⁵

Portuguese Provocations :

From the tone of the treaty it appears that the Marathas may not have disturbed the Portuguese, if the latter had realized their own weak position in India, and kept a friendly relation with them or at least refrained from interfering with their affairs. But they did no such thing. When the Marathas invaded the Sidis' lands in 1733 they helped them. This made Shahu so indignant that he wrote: "The Portuguese at Goa have become friends of the Sidis and succour them ... As we have resolved to destroy the Sidis it has become absolutely necessary to chastise those who aid them".⁴⁶ During the next two years they tried to take advantage of the family quarrels of the Angre brothers.⁴⁷ In 1736 a fleet of 4 galleys and 2 light vessels were sent from Goa to the north to protect their fishermen. These vessels entered some Maratha ports and wantonly burnt several villages. "This was" says a contemporary Portuguese chronicle "only a fresh incentive to the discontent and ambition of the Mahratta* who reserved the execution of his revenge for a more opportune occasion".⁴⁸

Owing to the war with the Sidis, which raged from 1733 to 1736, such an occasion did not present itself till 1737.

Maratha preparations to attack Salsette :

The Marathas were, however, closely watching the Portuguese affairs. They had many sympathizers in the Portuguese country, Christian and non-Christian, who regularly kept them informed.⁴⁹ But what actually induced the Marathas to undertake an early invasion of Salsette was that the General of the North had started to build an extraordinary strong fort at Thana in 1734.⁵⁰ "If the fort is completed" wrote the governor of

45) Idem PP. 414-17. For the treaty, Biker Vol. 6, PP. 175-78.

46) Shahu's Diary Entry No.193. See also Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 34, Entry No. 89.

47) See Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 33, Entry Nos. 147, 159, 165.

48) Noticias da India Vol. 2, Pt. 2, P. 452.

49) See their interesting letters in Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 16, Nos. 4, 5, 16, 18, 24. Idem Vol. 34, Entry Nos. 3, 6, 51, 92, 202. The last two letters give a vivid description of the plight to which the Portuguese were then reduced. The last letter said that there was such a confusion in their country that "there was darkness in daytime".

50) Noticias da India Vol. 2, Pt. 2, P. 338.

Kalyan to Chimnaji Appa "our project will not meet with any success."⁵¹ The fort was never completed; its work was still in progress when the Marathas surprised it in 1737.

Chimnaji Appa intended to attack Salsette in April 1736.⁴⁹ But at this time Shahu sent him against Sidi Sat whom he fought and killed (April 10, 1736).⁵³ After the rains Maratha informed the Viceroy of Goa that he had definite news about the "Marathas Intentions"; and in the beginning of March following he advised the General of the North that the Marathas were about to proceed that way. To this the General replied that "he was in all respects fully prepared to receive them, and was in no pain about these Advices".⁵⁴ The Marathas in fact had made the preparations and, on the appointed day, or rather night, a numerous army secretly assembled in Kalyan.⁵⁵

Salsette surprised March 26, 1737 :

Chimnaji Appa's conquest of the island of Salsette* was a thrilling event. He did not leave Poona until the night of Thursday, March 24, 1737.⁵⁶ After a continuous journey of over 70 miles he reached Kalyan, where he was joined by a division of the army that was awaiting his arrival. They immediately set out against Salsette. In the dark hour of the morning watch of Saturday (March 26) they forced the dry pass of Thana, about 8 miles south-west of Kalyan, and attacked a fort called St. Jeronime. Its captain and six "black soldiers" were killed in a fight, Chimnaji's men now signalled two guns. A body of 500 Marathas waiting on the other side of the pass crossed it and joined Chimnaji. In order to cause greater confusion they sounded their trumpets from different part of the island, and their sound marched against Thana. Before daybreak the Marathas surrounded Salsette on all sides. Dom Luiz Botelhe, the

51) Sel. Plesh. Daf. Vol. 16, No. 8. See also No. 13.

52) His letters to the Peshwa, Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 16, No. 22.

53) Vide infra.

54) Court of Directors answer to a Portuguese memorial; Letter Book Vol. 24, P. 554.

55) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 16. Entry No. 32 is a list of men who were to proceed from various forts in the direction of Kalyan on the appointed night. It says that two thousand men were ample for the task. The list is dated Feb 1, 1737.

56) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 22. Entry No. 349 (Diary).

* Two different districts in the Portuguese territory were called Salsette, one situated near Bombay and the other near Gos. Unless otherwise mentioned, it is the former that is referred to in these pages.

General of the North, was at this time at Thana. He could hardly believe that the Marathas would enter the island when he was there, but he was soon convinced that the enemy had not only entered but had made a good progress. After mature consideration he decided not to risk his person in an engagement with the enemy. He took "the women and principal families" and fled to Bassein.⁵⁷ Consequently Chimnaji's men encountered little opposition. Five forts defending the town of Thana fell into their hands in no time some being abandoned, the others surrendered. By March 28 they were undisputed masters of the whole island", excepting the Jesuit College at Bandra, about 18 miles south-west of Thana, and the small fort of Visava, about 10 miles east of the town. "They achieved this conquest without the loss of a single man or discharging a single gun".⁵⁸

March 28, 1737 to May 5, 1738 :

From March 28, 1737 to May 5, 1738, on which latter date Bassein surrendered, a vigorous war raged between the Marathas and the Portuguese. The Selections from the Peshwa Daftar (Vols. 16, 12, 30,34), which among other papers contain letters written by almost every Maratha leader who fought in this war supply interesting and minute details of their doings. The contemporary English and Portuguese records contain even more valuable and voluminous information regarding these events. To describe every action that was fought would make the narrative too long. Only the important episodes, therefore, are mentioned here.

Bandra blown up. March 25, 1729 :

On the day he entered Thana, Chimnaji Appa sent a party against Bandra. The only building in this place was the Jesuit convent where a few clergymen resided. The Jesuit fathers solicited help of the governor of Bombay, who, remembering that Bandra stood within a gunshot of the English fort of Mahim immediately despatched 50 men with an officer

57) *Noticias da India* Vol. 2, Pl. 2, PP. 465-68. The General made an eleventh hour appeal to the governor of Bombay for succours (March 27). Before the governor had time to send any, he heard that the Marathas had become masters of Salsette and the General had fled to Bassein (*Born. Pub. Con.* Vol. 9, con. March 28, 1737). The General was dismissed on May 13 and an inquiry into his conduct was made. But he was absolved from blame in allowing the Marathas to capture Salsette. (*Noticias da India* Vol.2, Pl.2, PP.530-51)

58) *Idem* P. 471.

(March 28, 1737)⁵⁹ and the convent was successfully defended. The Marathas afterwards made many vigorous attacks upon the place, but were repulsed every time.⁶⁰ At last on Sunday, March 25, 1739 the convent was blown up with the consent of the Portuguese, the English and the Marathas.⁶¹

Visava taken Feb. 6, 1739 :

Visava was the second place which stood the Maratha attacks for a long time. On March 29, 1737, 500 men attacked it but failed to create any impression on the fort. On April 26 another attack was made, with no better success. A small body of Portuguese soldiers vigorously defended the place until Feb. 6, 1739 when it was surrendered.⁵⁹ It was only on this day that the Maratha conquest of the island of Salsette was complete.

Bassein invaded 1737 :

Whilst one party of the Marathas were creating confusion on the island of Salsette on March 26, 1737, another crossed the creek separating it from Bassein and captured the passes guarding the roads to the city. During the next few days they reduced the neighbouring forts of Madrapor, Parsica and Frangipara and besieged that of Sabaje.⁶³ The latter valiantly sustained the siege for 26 days, when it was reduced to utter distress for want of water and ammunition. On April 28 (1737) its captain, Manuel Cactano da Camara, asked for immediate succours from Bombay, but before the request could be conceded to, the governor of Bombay was advised that the place had been surrendered on the same day, its captain and garrison being "permitted to march out under arms with their baggage".⁶⁴ About the same time they took the forts of Saibana and Manors, the island of das Vaccas, and the fortified hills of Santa Cruz and Santa Maria, all within the jurisdiction of Bassein.⁶⁵

59) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 9, March 28, 1737.

60) See Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 34, Entry Nos. 27, 28, 39, 169.

61) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 10, P. 121-22.

62) Noticias da India Vol. 2, Pt. 2, PP. 479-90; Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 10, PL. 69; Parasnis, Life and Letters of Brahmendra Swami P. 64. n. 3.

63) Noticias da India Vol. 2, Pt. 2, PP. 476-77. Sabajo was also known as Balapur.

64) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 9, PP. 134-35. Sabaje was within the jurisdiction of Bassein. Its fort had 5 bastions on which were mounted 11 pieces of artillery. 13 large villages were under its protection (Noticias da India Vol. 2, Pt. 2, P. 479).

65) Noticias da India Vol. 2, PL 2, PP. 483-505.

Consternation in Goa :

The sudden loss of Salsette created consternation in Goa. The prestige of the government was reduced so low that the Viceroy could send only 300 men to defend Bassein. These succours reached Bombay on May 3, (1737). They had little ammunition and no spare arms. The governor of Bombay was expected to "furnish them with every thing they may want". He supplied them with 100 barrels of gunpowder and dispatched them to Bassein.⁶⁶ The Council of State of Goa removed Dom Luiz Botelho and appointed Antdnic Cardim Froes in his place. The new General took passage on an English ship and reached Bassein on May 12. Next day he took charge of the government.⁶⁷ The most difficult question the Viceroy had to solve was that of funds to carry on the war. The exchequer was "for the most part extinct". While whole quarters were due to those who were on the pay list. To meet the emergency the government levied a general tax of a "tenth" on the inhabitants of the province of Goa. One of the further measures, which the Viceroy ordered to be undertaken for the success of the new war was a tridium. It began on May 13 with the best orators discoursing on the solemn occasion, and concluded with a "penitential procession".⁶⁸

Further attacks by the Marathas, 1737 :

The Marathas meanwhile continued their attacks on Bassein. On June 27 and Sept. 4, 1737 - when the monsoon is at its height in these parts - they tried to storm the fortress, but were repulsed each time with severe losses. Similarly from the middle of October to the end of that year, they laid siege to the forts of Mahlm, Kelve and Shirgao, which stand along the coast to the north of Bombay and are at a short distance from each other. But each one was valiantly defended and the Marathas had to raise their siege.⁶⁹ At this time it was suggested that the government of Goa should abandon all such small places and retain only Diu, Deman, Bassein and Chaul, which, it was said, could be defended by the available forces. The Viceroy rejected the suggestion, saying that it would be below the dignity of his high office to abandon a single place.⁷⁰

66) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 9, PP. 138-140.

67) Idem. PP. 141-42; Noticias da India Vol. 2, Pt. 2, PP. 489-90.

68) Noticias da India Vol. 2, Pt. 2, PP. 491-98.

A graphic description of the conditions in Goa and the measures undertaken by the Viceroy is given in this Chronicle.

69) Idem PP. 511-12, 515, 531-40.

70) Noticias da India Vol. 2, Pt. 2, PP. 542-44.

Attempts to retake Salsette 1737 :

The Viceroy on the other hand was endeavouring to recover Salsette. On Aug. 10 (1737) the General of the North represented to the governor of Bombay the necessity of joining the forces of the two nations to dislodge the enemy from Thana. The governor however knew well that 2-3000 men constantly guarded the fort, and even the united armies of the Europeans would be outnumbered by the Marathas. He therefore refused to join in the attempt.⁷¹ The Viceroy then requested the French chief at Mahe to assist him "to retake the island of Salsette from the Marathas". The chief complied with the request and sent the *Due de Bourbon* with all the seamen and soldiers on her board and a large quantity of ammunition (Nov. 23, Dec. 4, 1737)⁷². Soon after the arrival of the French ship at Goa the General of the North again asked the governor of Bombay to land the English forces, adding that the Sidis of Janjira too had promised to join in the endeavour. But the French succours - for no known reason - never reached Bassein, and the Sidis' assistance was of no consequence. The governor of Bombay therefore did not think it prudent to risk the lives of his men. Nevertheless he informed the general that he would willingly help him whenever he "could from a scheme for recovering Thanah, likely to be attended with success".⁷³

Portuguese memorial to His Majesty :

The refusals of the E. I. Company's servants at Bombay enraged the court of Portugal. Heavy complaints were made against the Company, and a memorial was sent to His Majesty of Great Britain, praying that, "in Pursuance of Treatys, some Men of War... be sent to India for the recovering of Salsette". His Majesty desired to know if the Company had any objections to such an undertaking. "If his Majesty shall be pleased" answered the Company "to send Men of War into India to assist the Portuguese, the Directors of the E. I. Co. should be glad if it proves of any service to them. But as it is a Land War they are Engaged in with the Natives who attack them with numerous Forces out of the Inland Countrys lying on the back of the Portuguese Settlements... the Directors

71) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 9, Con. Aug. 11, 1737.

72) Pondichery to Paris Jan. 24 / 13, 1738. Correspondance Tome II, PP. 96-109. The ship was of 70 guns.

73) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 9, Dec. 23, 1737 and Jan. 6, 1738.

cannot conceive what Assistance any ships of War can give them. As the Company's Advices say that no less than a Body of 3000 Regular European Land Forces with a Train of Artillery will be sufficient to regain the Island of Salsett only...; but as the Morattas have with very numerous forces got possession of the said Island. It is apprehended that if we as a Company should be drawn into a War with the Powerful Nation, it would endanger the Loss of the Island of Bombay."⁷⁴ No men-of-war were sent from England.

Portuguese attack upon Thana, Dec. 1738 :

In May 1738 the Viceroy of Goa asked the governor of Bombay to mediate peace between himself and the Marathas. The governor consented and wrote to the commandant of Salsette. He received a favorable answer and representatives of both parties (Portuguese and Marathas) were sent to Bombay (Sept. 1738). But the credentials of the Maratha representative were found insufficient. He was therefore sent back to obtain full authority to conduct the negotiations.⁷⁵ Meanwhile succours were sent from Lisbon to Goa, and a change in the government of Bassein had taken place. The General, Antonic Cardim had resigned and his place was taken by Pedro de Millo, who was believed to be a man of action. The Viceroy thought that another attempt to regain Salsette would enhance his reputation more than the continuance of the peace negotiations. He sent to Bassein all the men he had at Goa and ordered the new general to attack Thana. Accordingly on Nov. 23, 1738 Pedro de Mello set out from Bassein with 400 white soldiers and 600 sepoys in 5 large vessels, 3 galleys and 30 gallevats. On the 25th the fleet anchored in front of Thana, but it was found that the only approach to the place was guarded by 15 armed gallevats which were shielded by the guns of the fort. For two days the General threw bombs in the fort from his vessels below, but not much injury was done to the Marathas inside. On the 27th a cannon ball from the enemy's gun struck the General. He died on the spot and the expedition returned to Bassein. Martinho da Silveira was appointed to his post.⁷⁶

74) For the whole affair of the Portuguese complaints and the Co's answers, see Letter Book Vol. 24, PP. 552-57; 642-46; 666.

75) Blom. Pub. Con. Vol. 9, PP. 123, 204, 220-21.

76) Noticias da India Vol. 2, Pt. 2, PP. 573-81, 585.

Rapid progress of the Marathas. :

With the beginning of the year 1739, the march of events was very rapid. On Jan. 9 the important fortress of Mahim was lost by the Portuguese, and next day the adjoining fortress of Kelve⁷⁷ was surrendered. On Jan. 24 the Marathas took Tarapur by springing a mine, and on Feb. 1, the fort of Asheri fell into their hands.⁷⁸ In the whole province only the city and fort of Bassein remained unconquered.

Marathas invade Goa, Jan. 1739 :

On Jan. 15, 1739, 3000 horse, 5000 foot and 2000 "unarmed camp followers" entered the province of Goa under the joint command of Venkatrao and Dadajirao. They effected their entrance unnoticed and marched right up to the gates of Margao. They took the town after one day's fighting, and before the end of the month they lodged themselves firmly in the district of Salsette, near Goa.⁷⁹ The chief of Savantvadi, who was then an ally of the Marathas, occupied the adjoining districts of Bardes.⁸⁰ At this time the Marathas could have easily taken the city of Goa itself; because at their approach everybody had deserted the city and "all houses were empty".⁸¹

The Portuguese affairs were indeed in a "wretched condition". On Jan. 9, 1738, (n.c.) the Viceroy advised the Court of Portugal that he had no further paid garrison than that of a company of grenadiers, the men of his guard and those on the sick list.⁸² The reinforcements he had already he had sent to Bassein; and now there were hardly any soldiers who could defend the capital of their State in India. He wrote letters to the governors of Bombay and Pondichery, requesting them in most pressing terms to send men and ammunition. The governor of Bombay could not send any men but would "strain so far as to spare a few warlike Stores", provided some conveyance was available to carry them.⁸³ From Pondichery some powder, cannon and balls were immediately

77) Life and Letters of Brahmendra Swami, PP. 62, Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 10, PP. 22.

78) Life and Letters of Brahmendra Swami, P. 64 n.1 & 3.

79) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol.10, PP.65, 77-78; Noticias da India Vol. 2, Pt. 2, PP. 616, 623, 625-26.

80) Itihas Sangrah, Peshwa Daftar, P. 106; Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 16, Entry No. 147.

81) Dadajirao's letters to Chhinnaji, Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 16, Entry No.147.

82) MSS. Portuguese Records from the Library of Evora.

83) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol.10, PP.77-78.

despatched.⁸⁴ Such paltry assistance, however, was of no count against the superior numbers of the enemy. The Viceroy had no means to fight; he sued for peace.

Peace treaties :

On April 21, 1739 the Viceroy made two treaties, one with Venkatrao and the other with Dadajirao. The full text of these treaties is appended to this chapter. By them the Portuguese State agreed to pay 40 p.c. of the annual revenues of the province of Goa to the Peshwa. The Maratha generals on their part consented to evacuate the districts of Salsette and Bardes (near Goa). And by way of defraying the expences of the Marathas in this war it was further stipulated that they should receive seven lakhs of rupees, two before they left the province, three more within eight days of their evacuation and the remaining two lakhs some time after. Two Portuguese gentlemen of distinction were to be kept with the Marathas as hostages for the security of payment.⁸⁵

Meanwhile the situation in the province of the North had grown worse and the Viceroy apprehended the loss of every place. He therefore entered into another agreement with Vankatrao on April 25, 1739. The main provision of this fresh agreement was that the Portuguese should surrender Bassein, and the Marathas should not disturb Daman, neither party know what would happen before the same should not be binding unless it was reconfirmed by both parties at some future date.⁸⁶

Bassein capitulates May 5, 1739 :

The Viceroy's apprehensions were true. Bassein was closely besieged by Chimnaji Appa since Jan. 7 (1739).⁸⁷ His men had built fascines, dug trenches, and, notwithstanding an incessant fire from the fort, "carried on their approaches by sap and mine to the very foundations of the Walls".⁸⁸ They intended next to mine those walls. On consulting his engineer the General of the North was told that the nature of the

84) Paris to Pondichery Feb.18.1741 (n.s.). The French Company approved of the conduct of their governor and added "It is to be sincerely wished that all the (European) nations would enter into a hearty union to destroy (the Marathas)". Correspondance. Tome III. P.371.

85) 1853, Portuguese Records from the Library of Evora. 1512-1739.

86) Idem.

87) Chimnaji's letter to Brashendra Swami, Life and Letters of Brahmendra Swami. No.52.

88) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol.10, Feb.20,1739.

ground would not permit any such operations by the enemy. In order to make himself doubly sure, the General asked the opinion of the English engineers of Bombay, who also told him that no mines could be carried "to depth enough to injure or endanger the Walls". because Bassein stood on loose and on three sides and on the fourth was surrounded by sea water.⁸⁹ While the General was thus assured by the experts, two mines exploded in the morning of May 2. But attacking party of the Marathas made such a haste that many lost their lives in the explosion.⁹⁰ During the next 24 hours, 10 or 11 more mines were sprung and large breaches were made in the bastions. Storming was made possible and the Marathas rushed forth "with the utmost Fury and Resolution being repulsed several times and as often returned to the attack, and at length gained Lodgements on the Bastions, the Portuguese being tired and harassed with so warn an action which first and last held two days, having several of their officers and many people killed, their Ammunition near Exhausted, and observing the place was no longer tenable against such numbers hoisted a white flag and sent one of their Officers to treat of Surrender with Chimnajee (Chimaji)"⁹¹ (May, 4, 1739). On Saturday, May 5, 1739 a treaty of peace was made and Bassein surrendered. The treaty* provided that the garrison of Bassein should be permitted to depart "with their arms in order, drums beating and colours flying"; that such inhabitants - Christians, Hindus or Muhammedans - as would like to depart should be at liberty to depart; that those who would choose to stay should have perfect freedom to follow their respective religions; and that the three churches in the city of Bassein should be allowed to enjoy their ancient privileges. On May 13, the General of the North, the garrison and some inhabitants came to Bombay on English vessels.⁹² The same day Chimnaji Appa took possession of the city.

Unprecedented Warfare :

The success of the Marathas in this war was partly due to the helpless condition of the Portuguese not only in India but even in Europe. At the time their India possessions were invaded by the Marathas, the shores of Portugal were guarded by British men-of-war, and "their army

89) Idem. The General wrote to Bombay on Feb.17. The letter answered on Feb.20.

90) Chimnaji's own letter, Life and Letters of Brahmendra Swami No.52.

91) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol.10, May.7,1739.

* The full text of the treaty is appended to this chapter.

was hardly judged sufficient to defend their frontier".⁹³ The Viceroy moreover admitted that "his expectations of a supply depended in a good measure upon the temper of the Queen of Spain". (Nov. 1737).⁹⁴ The conduct of the Portuguese authorities in India was also to be blamed. "They are so horribly vain" wrote Bombay to Surat long ago "and proud that the they are not able to defend their country to any degree against any one Nation, yet they are imbroiling themselves with Severall".⁹⁵

But more want of defensive power in the Portuguese did not decide the fate of the war. The methods of the Maratha warfare had changed since the days of Shivaji. Guerrilla tactics were abandoned and regular battles fought. The Marathas now laid sieges, dug out trenches,, sprang mines, threw bombs and were even equipped with field-glasses.⁹⁶ But there was something more than this material equipment. In this war - as in no war before - the Marathas fought with uncommon courage and bravery. "Never before" wrote Balaji Bajirao on May 12. 1739 "had an army of the Deccan shown such personal bravery in a battle. The men were starving, but they made a parapet of their chests and fought with grim determination".⁹⁷

Chaul transferred to the Marathas Nov. 1740 :

The only places in the north which still belonged to the Portuguese were Diu, Daman and Chaul. Diu being an island-fortress was immune from attacks of the Marathas. Daman and Chaul, on the other hand, were situated on the mainland and many inroads were already committed in their bounds. The position of Chaul was very unsafe, because this isolated place was surrounded on all sides by Maratha possessions. The capitulation of Bassein, moreover, was not an end of the Portuguese troubles. The Viceroy failed to comply with the terms of the treaties he had made in not paying the stipulated sum of seven lakhs of rupees. Consequently the forces of Shahu Raja and Savantvadikar Bhosale again occupied the districts of Salsette and Bardes near Goa.⁹⁸ The Viceroy

92) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol.10, P.198.

93) Idem Vol.9, Cpm. Nov.11,1737.

94) Idem.

95) March 13,1700. F.R. Bombay Vol.17.

96) See letter to Chimnaji, Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.34, No.110. which mentions that filed-glasses were used to spy the enemy.

97) Kavvalihas Sangrsh. Patre Yadi Entry No.31.

98) Viceroy's letters to the governor of Bombay, Nov.18/29,1739, Bom. Pub. Con. Vol.10, P.484 sqq.

* Its full text is appended to this chapter.

now wisely decided to give Chaul to the Marathas if they would trouble him no more. Negotiations were set on foot through the medium of the governor of Bombay and another treaty was concluded at Poona on Sept. 7, 1740. This treaty* provided the Marathas should not be disturbed by them; and that Chaul should be transferred to them. This transfer was to take place only when the Marathas left the districts they had occupied. In the meantime English forces were to take charge of the place. About the end of November (1740) the conditions of the treaty were fully satisfied and Chaul was ceded to the Marathas.⁹⁹ From this time to the end of Shahu's reign, no more important developments occurred in the relations between the two States.

2. War with the Sidis (1733-1736).

The Sidis :

The Sidis were the rulers of Janjira,* an island-fortress on the western coast of India. They were at first in the service of the Nizam Shahi State of Ahmadnagar. After the final dissolution of that kingdom in 1636 they transferred their allegiance to the Sultan of Bijapur. About 1670 they were attacked by Shivaji and their master failed to relieve them. They therefore decided to enter into the service of the Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb. The emperor was willing to accept their services and made the chief Sidi the admiral of the empire. His pay was fixed at 2 1/4 lakhs of rupees a year, and it was to be collected from the royal revenues of Surat.¹⁰⁰

The government of the Sidis was of a peculiar nature. One among them acted as their chief and was in charge of Janjira. The principle of selection rather than the ordinary rule of primogeniture appears to have been followed in filling the post of the head Sidi,¹⁰¹ yet the chief's male issues and even the principal officers were known as Sidis.¹⁰²

99) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol.11, Con. Nov.24,1740.

100) Bri. Mus. Add. MSS.29209, Vol.1; Bom. Pub. Con. Vol.8, This pay was called Tanka. It amounted to Rs.190,000 per annum, because 17p.c. was deducted as the customary expenses of obtaining it. See Surat to Bombay April 19,1735; Bom. Pub. Con. Idem.

* "Janjira is the Marathi corruption of the Arabic Jazirah an Island", Bom. Caz. Vol.XI, P.401.

101) See History of Konkan, Bom. Caz. Vol.1, Pt.2, P.83.

102) I have used the word Sidi to designate the "Chief Sidi" or any other Sidi whose name is mentioned. I have however preferred to use the plural (i.e. Sidis), as it has been difficult to single out any one amongst them.

Sidi's Territory 1733 :

The present Native State of Janjira lies between 17°59 and 18°32 north latitude, and 72°21 east longitude¹⁰³ In 1733, before their war with the Marathas commenced, the Sidis hold a few more detached places. To mention the more important of their possessions (as will be seen from the accompanying map) the island of Underi lay near the entrance of Bombay harbour, 1200 yards from the mainland. Opposite to this island was the land fort of Thal.¹⁰⁴ Janjira, Bankot and Anjanvel were three island fortresses, known for their strength; Rajpuri an excellent harbour; and Govalkot and impregnable land fort. Raigad, the capital of Shivaji's kingdom was in the Sidi's possession since 1789. The Sidi had also a "numerous fleet of Grabs*, ships and Gallevate".¹⁰⁵

Causes of the war between the Marathas and the Sidis :

The relations between the Sidis and the Marathas were never friendly. Shivaji wished to conquer the whole of Konkan and be master of the coast. His greatest enemy on that side was the Sidi against whom he made his first attack in 1748 and captured some of his places.¹⁰⁶ After these strenuous attempts were made by the king and his son Sambhaji to take Janjira, but the Sidis successfully defended themselves.

The main cause of this continual hostility - and particularly of the war of 1733-36 was, as already noticed, religions. The Sidis were Muhammedans; the Marathas Hindus. "The Habashi* of Rajapur" wrote Shahu in his own hand in July 1733 "has been committing wanton acts and tyrannising the whole province of the Konkan. Unless he is thoroughly chastised neither (Hindu) religion nor priests will be safe in those parts".¹⁰⁷ One of the tyrannies committed by the Sidis was the capture of Hindu men and women, whom they forcibly converted to their faith and often sold as slaves.¹⁰⁸

103) Bom. Caz. Vol.XI, P.402. Thought the whole tract is known as Janjira that name properly applies to the seafort.

104) Idem P.395.

105) Bom. to Co. July 25,1729. Bombay Letters Received Vol.1A.

* Native war-vesels.

106) Bom. Caz. Vol.XI, P.436.

107) Shahu's Diary, Entry No.58.

108) See Bom. Pub. Con. Vol.14, Con. Feb.24,1744; Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.33. Entry No.33.

There was also a political cause which, as far as Shahu was concerned, was more important than the religious cause. The Sidi was holding Raigad, the capital of the Marathas State. Shahu was yearning to retake it at the first opportunity. In Kanhoji Angre's treaty of submission it was expressly stipulated that Kanhoji might hold all the forts below the Ghats but must deliver Raigad if and when it was taken (Feb. 1714).¹⁰⁹ In 1718 the Peshwa, then on his way to Delhi, was instructed by the king to obtain the emperor's Firman directing the Sidi to cede the fort to the Marathas.¹¹⁰ In March 1722, when Kanhoji Angre waited upon Shahu at Satara he was asked to try, by all possible means, to take that fort.¹¹¹ In the beginning of the winter of 1725 Kanhoji again went to Satara, when some schemes were framed and the Sidi's garrison was ripe for treason.¹¹² After Kanhoji's death (1729), Sekhoji and Sambhaji "corrupted some of the Sciddees Seapoys to betray Anjenvel and three other Forts, but the Flet being discovered the ring leaders were executed (1732)."¹¹³ These attempts to take Raigad show that Shahu felt extremely humiliated at the thought that his grandfather's capital was in his enemy's possession. Having failed to take the place by any other means, Shahu declared war against Janjira.¹¹⁴

109) Vide supra P.116.

110) Bharat Varsh, Patre Yadi Entry No.40.

* In Marathi the names Sidi, Habashi and Samal all stand for the rulers of Janjira.

111) Bom. to Co. May 11, 1722, Bombay Letters Received Vol.1.

112) Bom. to Co. Aug. 25, 1725, Idem.

113) Bom. to Co. Sept. 22, 1732. The gentlemen at Bombay added "(We) shall insinuate to the Seiddee how contray to his interest it is to submit to such insults". Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol.1A, P.408.

114) Writers like Messrs. Parasnis (Life and Letters of Brahmendra Swami) and sardesai (Riyasat, Madhya Vibhag Vol.1) have attempted to show that the cause of the War between Shahu and the Sidis was one Brahmendra Swami. Thes last mentioned was a Hindu saint who enjoyed much popularity at that time. He lived in then Konkan till 1728 and then went up-country, where he died in 1745. From the letters he used to receive it is undeniable that he was known to every person of any position in the Maratha State. Nevertheless there is no reason to suppose that his personal quarrels with the Sidis in 1727 had anything to do with the Maratha war in 1733. As a matter of fact while the war was raging the Swami was in friendly correspondence with the Sidis (See his Life and Letters, PP.24-26 n., PP.229-242. Sidi's letters to him; 307-08 his letters to the Sidi). Brahmendra was one of prominent money lenders of his days, and through his purse he had obtained a good hold even upon persons of high position. His avarice was boundless; his manners impudent. This is the impression one gets from reading his correspondence. (Life and Letters by Parasnis; Rajwade Vol.3). As to the Sidis war he may have influenced Shahu's mind; but neither the king nor his generals needed any incitements to continue an age-long hostility.

Raigad captured June 8, 1733 :

In Feb. 1733 the chief Sidi, Rassul, died at Janjira and fratricidal quarrels broke out among his many sons.¹¹⁵ Shahu took advantage of opportunity and sent the Peshwa Bajirao, the Pratinidhi Shripatrao and Fatessing Bhosale to invade the Sidi's country (April 1733).¹¹⁶ At the same time the king ordered his Sarkhel (admiral) Sekhoji Angre and his brother Sambhaji to make attacks by the sea while the other forces were invading the country by land.¹¹⁷ The Marathas fell upon the Sidis so suddenly that they captured almost every place they went against. Before the end of May Rajpuri and 12 other forts were taken.¹¹⁸ And on June 8 (1733) the Pratinidhi conquered Raigad, which had been in the enemy's possession for over 43 years.¹¹⁹ The only important places that remained now in the Sidi's possession were Janjira, Anjanvel, Govalkot and Underi. In July (1733) Bajirao laid siege to Janjira, and the Pratinidhi to Anjanvel.¹²⁰ In this month Sekhoji Angre took by storm the strategic fort of Thal.¹²¹

Portuguese attempts :

The Portuguese at Chaul were the immediate neighbours of the Sidi, and, from the very beginning of these hostilities they had been helping him with men and vessels.¹²² This help however was of no consequence and brought no credit to them. Knowing this, the Viceroy of Goa decided to take advantage of the situation by some other means. "He resolved" records Noticias da India "to send two frigates to the port of Danda* for the purpose of assisting the Sidi who was rigorously besieged in that fortress by Bagy Rau (Bajirao) after he had taken 18 of his fortresses, or of mediating between the two, interesting himself (i.e. the Viceroy) in favour of whichever offered him the greater advantage; he resolved to succour the Sidi if he would agree to order the fortress of Madrafavel to be demolished, which he had built in the neighbourhood of Diu; and should he refuse, to help Baugi Rau if he would help to bring about our

115) Sardesai, Riyasat Madhya Vibhag Vol.1, P.249.

116) Shahu's; Diary Entry Nos. 56,58.

117) Idem No.56; Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.33, Entry Nos.10-11.

118) Sel. Pesh. Daf.Vol.33. Entry No.27.

119) Idem. Introduction.

120) Shahu's diary Entry No.59.

121) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.33. Entry No.58.

122) Idem Entry No.15.

* About 2m. S. Janjira. Rajpuri was ganerally known by the joint name "Danda-Rajpun"

+ Also called Padamdurg or Lotus fort. It lies about 2m. N.W. Janjiua.

return to Casa Banca+ near Chaul, which belongs to the said Sidi".¹²³ Both proposals proved unavailing and only served to incense the combatants against the Viceroy.¹²⁴

Sidi's treaty with the English. Dec. 1733 :

Different was the assistance given by the English. When Sekhoji Angre took Thal and started bombarding the island fortress of Underi (July 1733) so near Bombay, the government of that place decided to prevent their arch enemy "Angria's" further progress. On July 15, thirteen English vessels went from Bombay to Underi, planted their flag on its fort, removed the Sidis' families to Bombay and undertook to defend the island.¹²⁵ About this time the governor gave out that he had received an order of the emperor for assisting the Sidi, and that all the royal treasury.¹²⁶ Negotiations for concluding an alliance with the Sidis were set on foot. Mr. Lowther, the Chief of the Surat Factory and Mr. Deckenson of the government of Bombay were appointed to conclude the affair.¹²⁷ On Dec. 6, 1733 a treaty of "perpetual alliance and sincere friendship between the governments of Janjeera and Bombay" was signed at the latter place.¹²⁸ The treaty provided that if the Sidis' territory was invaded by any power which was an enemy to both parties, they were to be assisted "with all the marine force of Bombay". Next day (Dec. 7) the Sidis signed a secret article by which they bound themselves to obtain the emperor's order directing the governor of Surat to pay the English Factory two lakhs of rupees out of the Sidis' Tanka (allowance).¹²⁹

From this treaty and other documents¹³⁰ it is clear that the government of Bombay did not know the real cause of the war between the Marathas and the Sidis, and, consequently, did not realize against

123) Noticias da India Vol.2. Pl.2, PP.432-34.

124) Idem P.435.

125) Bom. to Beng. Aug.17,1733; Beng. Pub. Con. Vol.8, P.292. Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.33 Entry Nos.67-69.

126) F.R. Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.33 Entry No.83. When the Marathas remonstrated with the English for their espousal of the Sidis cause they replied that they had the emperor's order to that effect. To this Bajirao retorted, "Where can they get the emperor's order from? We are not ignorant of how much interest the emperor takes in such affairs. We live nearer to the emperor (than the English do). If they are going to help (the Sidis) in the name of the emperor, they are free to do what they like". Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.3. Entry No.64.

127) Fort St. George to Co. Jan.31,1734, Public Despatches to England (1735-36) P.24.

128) For terms of this treaty see Alchison, Treaties, Engagements and Sanads PP.111-114.

129) Idem P.114.

130) See e.g. Bom. to Beng. Aug.17,1733. Beng. Pub. Con. Vol.8, P.292; F.R. Surat Vol.18. PL.66; Fort St. George to Co. Feb.18,1734. Coast and Bay Abstract Letters Received Vol.3, P.322.

whom they were making this alliance. On Aug. 17, 1733 they wrote to Bengal, "The Marathas have lately made a Conquest of almost all the Seedys Territorys and seized his whole fleet, which has been delivered up to Angrias son (Sekhoji) who is now become more Formidable than ever".¹³¹ This was not the case. Very few places were acquired by Sekhoji Angre and none were handed over to him by other generals. Besides, Angre was a more servant of Shahu who had ordered him to join in the expedition. The governor of Bombay was especially advised of this fact.¹³² The treaty says that the alliance was "particularly against Angria"; in effect it was against Shahu. As to the notices of the English gentleman of Bombay, there might be some truth in what Sekhoji Angre wrote to the Peshwa. "They have joined hands with the Sidis" he said "because they be thought to themselves 'If the Sidis be entirely destroyed, one day our Settlement may meet with the same fate'".¹³³

English designs :

In May, the government of Bombay appears to have formed a more ambitious scheme. They were not content to help the Sidis with the forces they had. They further represented to the Company the necessity of having 1000 European soldiers and 500 Sepoys for "dislodging the Enemy from his strong Molds and Fortresses".¹³⁴ The Company detected what was lurking in their mind and ordered. "We lay this down as a maxim, that War is not our Business but Trade".¹³⁵

English succours sent :

This intervention of the government of Bombay in the Sidi-Maratha war changed its course. Even before the details of their treaty with the Sidis were arranged, the English had sent 12 vessels under the command of Capt. McNeale to relieve Janjira and other places, which were actually besieged by the Peshwa. Pratinidhi and Angre (Sept. 1733).¹³⁶ As already mentioned, the only important places the Sidi still

131) Beng. Pub. Con. Vol.8. P.292.

132) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.3. Entry No.64.

133) Idem Entry No.23.

134) Letter Book, Vol.23, P.228.

135) Co. to Bom. March 15, 1734. Idem.

136) Sel Pesh. Daf. Vol.33. Entry No.230.

possessed were Underi, Janjira, Anjanvel and Govalkot. The first three being island fortresses naval succours could easily reach them. The fortress of Govalkot too was practically an island, because the ditch round it was so wide and deep that vessels of burthen could navigate in its water and guard its approaches.¹³⁷ The Marathas had not sufficient naval force to cope with that of their enemies, especially as three or four Europe ships belonging to the E. I. Company were on that side "for a considerable part of the year."¹³⁸ The Pratinidhi raised his siege of Anjanvel and went away in disgust (October).¹³⁹ Fattesing Bhosale had already left for Satara (August) and did not return. The Peshwa Bajirao, the remaining leader of the Maratha army, become so disgusted with his helpless position that he patched up a provisional treaty with the Sidis and left the Konkan (December). By virtue of the articles of this treaty one Abdul Rahiman was made the chief Sidi (Dec. 4, 1733) and the places which were conquered by the Marathas were left in their possession. A detailed treaty was to be arranged afterwards in the presence of Shahu,¹⁴⁰ but the king disapproved of the Peshwa's arrangements. "Bajirao has saved the Sidis", he roared.¹⁴¹

Sidi Sat killed April 19, 1736 :

The war continued for three more years. Over 1000 original letters of Maratha leaders, who took part in these campaigns, are extant.¹⁴² They record the minutest detail of every action that was fought. But broadly speaking there was no change in the relative positions of the two parties, till April 1736. In the beginning of this month Sidi Sat, who was the ablest among the Sidis, invaded Kolaba. A Battle was fought between the Sidi and Manaji Angre. The Sidi killed about 50 Marathas, burned and pillaged the country, and intended to attack other places near Chaul.¹⁴³

The news of Sidi Sat's advance reached Satara on April 12. At this time Chimnaji Appa was in the capital to see the king. A decision was quickly taken. Shahu asked Chimmaji to proceed against the Sidi.

137) Pilaji Jadhav to Chimnaji Appa, April 28, 1736. Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.3, No.183.

138) Co. to Bom. March 5, 1735, Letter Book Vol.23, P.439.

139) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.3, Entry No.102.

140) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.33, Nos.131,136,137.

141) Idem Vol.11, Entry No.23.

142) Most of them are to be found in Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.3 and 33; Rajwade Vol.3; Parasni, life and letters of Brahmendra Swami.

143) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.3, Entry Nos.178,192.

Chimmaji left Satara on April 13, and after five days' march reached a village named Charai near the town of Kolaba. Next day (April 19, 1739) Sidi Sat prepared to give him a battle. Chimmaji too got his men ready for an action. A violent battle was fought for over six hours at the place of Chimmaji's last halt. "Sidi Sat" wrote Chimmaji to Bajirao in his own hand "was a very brave man and had numerous field pieces..... he was killed while fighting". Many leaders on the Sidi's side were killed and 1500 men lost their lives. The Marathas won a complete victory.¹⁴⁴

Treaty of peace Nov. 25, 1736 :

After this severe defeat the Sidis lost heart.¹⁴⁵ The Marathas too were tired of pursuing the war any longer and thought it best to rest on the victory.¹⁴⁶ Sundry fighting continued for some time,¹⁴⁷ but negotiations for peace were soon opened and a treaty¹⁴⁸ was made between the Sidis and the Marathas on Nov. 25, 1736. It was comprised of 13 articles. Its preamble mentioned that, since the cultivators and inhabitants of Janjira were long harassed by the war, it was absolutely necessary to make peace. Then followed the specification and enumeration of make peace. Then followed the specification and enumeration of lands and places which were to belong to the Marathas, who, on the whole, remained their conquests. It was further provided that the revenues of certain districts should be equally divided between the Marathas and the Sidis; that the rivers flowing in those districts should be made for facilitating commerce and trade between the two States.

Maratha gains in the war :

Though the Marathas did not destroy the power of the Sidis, nor even cripple it as much as they did that of the Portuguese, they were the gainers. In a conference with an English envoy the Chief Sidi said in May 1741 that, in their last war with the Marathas, they "lost the greatest and better Part of their Country and what small part remained the Morattas had half of their Produce".¹⁴⁹ Though the war ended in 1736 there was

144) Sel. Sel. Daf. Vol.3. No.178 (Chimmaji to Bajirao, all in his hand describing the battle).

145) Idem No.185.

146) Idem No.183.

147) See Idem No.205.

148) The full text of the treaty in Marathi is printed on PP.107-113 in Parasnis Treaties, Engagements and Sanads.

149) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol.12. Con. May 15,1741.

never good feeling between the two parties, nor did the Marathas cause to attempt to take the few small but important places in the hands of their enemy. On Jan. 23, 1745 Tulaji Angre possessed himself of the fortress of Anjanvel.¹⁵⁰ In Dec. 1747 Shahu made an attempt to take Underi by a stratagem; but the government of Bombay intervening again, the attempt failed.¹⁵¹ No place excepting Janjira and Govalkot was left safe in the Sidi's hands. But worse than these losses was the huge debt the Sidi had to pay to the English for their assistance. After 1733 Janjira practically became a protectorate of the government of Bombay and ever remained under their obligations.¹⁵²

Cause of Maratha failure :

Several papers show that almost every Maratha general of any note was at one time or another, personally present on the spot during this war with the Sidis. The whole Maratha army fought in the battles. Nevertheless a small power like that of Janjira was not conquered by the selfsame men who, in other parts of the country, were achieving great success over stronger enemies. The main cause of this failure was the faulty military system of the Marathas. The king had some men of his own, who were called Hujarat and who were paid by him. All other generals maintained their own armies, both foot and horse, and the necessary equipage. In this war the king sent his Hujarat army, and the generals, part of theirs at a time. Every division had its own commandant who was a master to himself. All commanded and nobody obeyed. Often times there was sheer confusion in the Maratha camp.¹⁵³

There were moreover such mutual jealousies between general and general that it was found impossible to make a united attack upon the enemy. The worst offender was the Peshwa, Bajirao. His letters from the battlefield disclose such a pettiness of mind that it is questionable whether he was ever conscious of his duty to the king. There is no doubt

150) Life and Letters of Brashmendra Swami. Letter No.11. Mr. Parasnis had placed the event in Jan.15,1735 which is wrong. Tulaji was besieging Anjanvel in Dec.1744. See Bom. Pub. Con. Vol.14. Con. 29,1744.

151) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol.15. Cons. Dec.9,1747. March 8,1748. See also Sel. Pesh. Def. Vol.33. Entry No.471.

152) the Bom. Pub. Cons. for 1735 onwards are full of the topic of the Sidi's country again in 1760. When both Underi and Govalkot were taken, but the government of Bombay having assisted the Sidi, Janjira remained in his possession. (Bom. to Co. Feb.21,1760. Bom. Letters Received Vol.10.).

153) See Sel. Pesh. Def. Vol.3. Entry Nos.10,13,45,73,113.

that he was an inward enemy of the Pratinidhi, who too was conducting the campaigns. Shahu ordered Sekhoji Angre to join the Pratinidhi among others. But the Peshwa were pressing letters to Sekhoji to withhold all assistance from the Pratinidhi, who in disgust left the field and retired. Bajirao showed a very low mind and sordid meanness of purpose.¹⁵⁴ He made, moreover, a treaty of friendship with the Sidis whom Shahu had determined to destroy. No wonder Shahu roared at him that he had saved the Sidis.¹⁵⁵ If one man is to be blamed more than another for the failure of this war, it was the Peshwa, Bajirao.

It must be mentioned that Shahu was heart and soul in the war from the beginning to the end. If his generals had been capable of feeling even a part of the enthusiasm that he felt, the campaigns would certainly have been more successful. The Selections from the Peshwa Daftar (Vols 3, 33) contain numerous papers which show what detailed arrangements he used to make about every phase of the campaign. But with all his sincerity and efforts, the king did nothing more than issue paper-commands to his generals, who often found it difficult or disadvantageous to obey them. If the king had personally lead the army, the consequences might have been different. At one time he decided to go, but it is not known why he did not.¹⁵⁶

3. Angle-Maratha relations.

Contact with the European Settlements :

The disputes of the Marathas with the Portuguese have been already recounted. Their relations with the government of Bombay will be presently described in detail. Excepting the possessions of these powers on the Western Coast - which lay contiguous to the Maratha country - European Settlements in India did not come in contact with Shahu's men till 1741. It is already mentioned that, when Trichinopoly was reduced in that year, both English and French governors took quick steps to engage the friendship of the Maratha generals. The capture of Chanda Sahib in that fort and his Imprisonment at Satara for about seven years proved a fateful event in the history of the country. A large ransom of seven lakhs of rupees was to be collected before the prisoner would be released. Unfortunately not a single Marathi paper is available to show

154) See the letters to and from Bajirao, Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.3, Nos.15,19,21,23,30,67,68. There are many more in Vol.33.

155) Vide Supra P.297.

156) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.3, No.165; See also Idem Vol.33, No.324.

157) See A. Pillaji's Diary Vol.3. KO.274.

what intrigues were taking place round this prisoner, but there is no doubt that Chanda Sahib was in correspondence with his friends in the south.¹⁵⁷ The ambitious governor of Pondichery had made an early decision to pay one lakh of rupees towards the ransom of Chanda Sahib, in the hope that one day he may become the Nabob of the Karnatak and always remain under French obligations.¹⁵⁸ Shortly after, Madras was lost (Sept. 10, 1746); and it is interesting to find that, among the country powers whom the English were approaching for help to recover their town, were the Marathas.¹⁵⁹ Yet the intervention of these people in the affairs of the Europeans in the south was not of much consequence during Shahu's reign.

Proposed European pact in Bengal 1742 :

The course of events in Bengal was different. The sudden advance of the Maratha army in that province in April 1742 produced consternation among all classes. Aliwardi Khan, the Nabob of Bengal, had the misfortune to see his seat of government (Murshidabad) plundered by the invaders. About the end of June they occupied Hugli, and in July, Midnapur and Ballasore were seized.¹⁶⁰ The Nabob was unable to dislodge them. He sent a message to the heads of the three Settlements - the English at Fort William, the French at Chandranagar and the Dutch at Hugli - that "he expected the three Nations should join their Forces and drive the Marottoes out of Hugley".¹⁶¹

But the Europeans had no mind to follow this course. On the contrary, they had already sent secret agents to treat with the Maratha generals, in order to avoid their visits to their own places.¹⁶² The French and Dutch governors even went further. On July 12 (1742) they made a joint communication to the governor of Fort William to the following purport "From the Irruption of the Morattoes into this province may Result several dangerous consequences for the three Nations. This Consideration hath kept them Duse for some time and makes them search for means to Evade the danger that threatens them; after having deliberated with their Councillors , they are of opinion that a sure alliance should be the observing an exact Neutrality between the Party of the Morattos and that of the Nabob during this War..... that the three Nations

158) The Governor and Council of Pondichery came to this decision on May 4/April 23, 1745. Pondichery to Paris, Jan. 11, 1746, Correspondence Tome IV, P.135. For the French Company's sentiments upon this question see Idem P.447.

159) See country Correspondence (1748) P.40, Fattosing Bhosale's letter.

160) Bang. Pub. Con. Vol.15, PP.416, 516, 621.

161) Idem P.440.

162) Idem P.449.

should assist one another mutually against such of both Partys as might attempt to Force us to break the Neutrality in his favour.¹⁶³ A draft treaty consisting of eleven articles to the same effect was also sent for the approval of the government of Fort William.¹⁶⁴ This government realized the extreme consequences, which such an alliance of neutrality may lead to - its terms would oblige the Europeans to fight with the Marathas and against the Nabob, in case the latter disturbed their neutrality - and declined to enter into it.¹⁶⁵

The Marathas continued their incursions into that province for many years after. The Europeans naturally suffered a good deal from their interference. One great loss of the English may be mentioned. In Feb. 1748 a body of Marathas attacked ensign English and his party at Katwa, about 78 miles north of Calcutta. The party was transporting bales of raw silk from Kasimbazar. They were relieved of their goods which were worth 395, 031 rupees.¹⁶⁶ At the request of the government of Fort William, the governor of Bombay sent a special messenger to Shahu who was then at Satara. No redress was obtained.¹⁶⁷

Relations between Bombay and Satara 1707-1749 :

During Shahu's reign the Settlement of Bombay came in close contact with the Marathas. When Shahu was released from the Mughal prison (April 1707) and was still on his way to Satara, he requested the governor of Bombay to help him with men and ammunition. The governor gave no consideration to the request.¹⁶⁸ When Shahu's power was well established in his home country, and his men began to made incursions into the Mughal deminions, there was hardly any letter, written by that Settlement to the Company, in which reference to the growing power of the king was not made.¹⁶⁹ The first friendly correspondence with Shahu was made in 1719, when he intervened on behalf of Kanhoji Angre. A treaty of peace and amity was made between the king and the governor of Bombay.¹⁷⁰ In Dec. 1721 the Portuguese and English made a joint

163) Idem P,451.

164) The proposed treaty is entered on PP.456-57. Idem.

165) Idem P,452.

166) Correspondence Memoranda Vol.12.

167) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol.15. Cons. Aug.6-Aug.26 - Oct.27,1748 & Jan.10,1749.

168) Vide Supra PP.67-69.

169) See Bombay Letters Received Vol.1,1A; Bombay Abstract letters Received Vol.1,1A.

170) Bom. to Co. Sept.24,1719, Bombay Abstract letters Received Vol.1. P.350.

attempt to destroy Angre; but he was defended by Shahu's armies and the Europeans were best off. Shahu tried to made peace with the English governor (1722); but the governor's demands were too high and nothing could be done in the matter.¹⁷¹ In 1730, when the Portuguese province of the north was invaded, the governor sent relief to them; because, as he explained his conduct to the Company. "The Enemy was Morattas who own the Sou Rajah for their Sovereign".¹⁷² In 1733 an Anglo-Sidi alliance was concluded, and during the following three years the Settlement defended their all against Maratha attacks.¹⁷³ By 1737 the government of Bombay had, consciously or unconsciously, became enemies of the Marathas.

Company's Commands :

In that year Shahu's forces surprised Salsette and reached very near the gates of Bombay. The Court of Directors realized the danger the Settlement had brought upon itself by provoking the ill-feelings of the Marathas." We Do positively order you" wrote they to Bombay on April 7, 1738 "to cultivate Friendship and Pacific Measures with all you Neighbours of every sort, avoiding all offensive Engagements and Wars which most ever be destructive to us whether we win or lose... We strenuously forbid you Engaging in offensive Quarrels upon any Pretence, much less in support of others as it may Embarrass and involve us in a Land War with the Sou (Shahu) Rajah whom we have always Considered as our Friend and Ally, and hope you will do so too".¹⁷⁴ In order to give immediate effects to their commands, the company made a change in the government of Bombay. John Horne was removed from the post of governor, and Stephen Saw was sent from England to take his place (July 21, 1738). In their instructions to the new governor the Company made severe strictures upon the past transactions of the old government of Bombay with the Marathas and added, "They (i.e. the old government) seem to have taken every step as far as they durst without open Violation of our orders and Instructions, to engage us in that Quarrel and make the Morattas our Perpetual and Inlecterate Enemys, whom

171) Bom. to Co. Aug.17,1722, Bombay Abstract letters Received Vol.1, P.443.

172) Governor Cowan from Bombay to Co., Jan.20,1731, Idem Vol.1A, P.364.

173) Vol.1A, P.364.

174) Letter Book Vol.24, P.428.

they had so fair an Opportunity (and we hope it is not yet lost) to make our lasting Friends".¹⁷⁵

Embassy Shahu's Court, May 1739 :

Stephen Law arrived at Bombay on April 7, 1739, and immediately took charge of his office. On May 5, before the news of the capitulation of Bassein on that day had reached Bombay, he called the meeting of the Board "purposely to consider of the expediency of sending a letter to the Sou Rajah, as a proper step and Introduction towards obtaining a Friendly Correspondence with that Court which appears hitherto to have been entirely neglected".¹⁷⁶ On the 7th it was decided that Capt. William Gordon, who understood the Country language well and was acquainted with "the humour and manners" of those people, should go upon the deputation to Shahu Raja. The Captain was equipped with fitting presents for the king and the courtiers, and was instructed to gain "some information and insight into the Government, interest and designs at that Court" and endeavour to establish a solid friendship between the two States.¹⁷⁷

Capt. Gordon set out from Bombay on May 12. On the 23rd he reached Satara. Here he learnt that Shahu was at that time besieging Miraj, about 80 miles south-east of Satara. He made his way to the King's camp, and on June 8 (1739) "had audience of the Raja in a mean place he had erected with his own hands for his present convenience during the siege". Captain Gordon stayed in the king's camp till the end of June. His embassy was successful. The king gave him letters to the governor of Bombay, Bajirao and Chimnaji, in all of which he professed his friendship with the English. Captain Gordon returned to Bombay on July 14.¹⁷⁸

Angle-Maratha treaty July 12, 1739 :

When the government of Bombay came to know that Bassein had surrendered to Chimnaji Appa (May 5, 1739) they sent one of their native servants, with "six yards of red Velvett, six yards of green and six

175) Idem P.443.

176) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol.10. Con. May 5, 1739.

177) Idem Con. May 7, 1739.

178) Captain Gordon's report on his Embassy. Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 10. PP.303-309; Shahu's letters to the governor. Idem P.295; his orders to Bajirao and Chimnaji, Idem P.296. Idem Con.

yards of Cloth", to compliment the Victor.¹⁷⁹ Chimmaji made a "civil answer". and asked the governor to appoint some person "to confer with him more particularly about the means of setting a good harmony and understanding".¹⁸⁰ Accordingly Captain Inchbird, who was well versed in the nature, customs and manners of the neighbouring governments, was deputed on June 8 (1739). His instructions were minute. Item No. 10 of these instructions was as follows. "If we are accused with assisting the Sciddees and Portuguese heretofore in prejudice to the Morattas, you may reply that what we did then was on a supposal that the destruction of either might injure us; but on a further knowledge (we have) had of the Morattas, considering the welfare of their dominions will be always consulted by them, and we consequently (desiring) a good footing with them, we have for some time observed a becoming neutrality".¹⁸¹

Capt. Inchbird's embassy to Chimmaji was more fruitful than Capt. Gordon's to Satara. At the very first meeting between Chimmaji and Capt. Inchbird, negotiations for concluding a treaty of friendship between the two States were opened. After a good many discussions and conferences, the terms were settled and the treaty made on July 12, 1739.¹⁸² This was in fact a navigation treaty, twelve out of its fourteen articles being concerned with the passage of ships and vessels on the sea and in the rivers near Bombay. By the two remaining articles it was provided that neither party should assist the other's enemies; and that fugitives should be restored by the one to the other.

Anglo-Maratha friendship :

From this time to the end of Shahu's reign, the relations between the Marathas and the English were perfectly friendly. In Oct. 1740 Shahu sent a Sirpaw* to the governor of Bombay¹⁸³ (which, according to the native customs of those times, was a high honour to receive). The governor returned the compliments of the king by presenting "a clock with Chimes and Severall moving Figures".¹⁸⁴ Such formalities as of

179) May 15, 1739.

180) Idem Con. June 8, 1739.

181) Idem.

182) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 10. Treaty entered on PP. 290-95.

183) Bom. Pub. Con. Voll. 11. Con. Oct. 10, 1740.

184) Idem.

* Dress of honour.

sending letters of congratulations and condolence and presents on the occasion of weddings or other ceremonies, were strictly observed by the government of Bombay.¹⁸⁵ In 1742 they consented to send an English doctor to attend a high officer at Shahu's court; because, as their Consultation of Aug. 13 mentions, "Through the whole temour of Our Hon'ble Masters Orders we are by all ways to Cultivate the Friendship of the Morattas".¹⁸⁶ On July 29, 1741 the Company wrote to Bombay. "We have sent a couple of Fine Fowling pieces and a pair of pistolls which you must Present in our Name if you think fit, to Chimnaji (Chimnaji Appa). General of the morattas, assuring him we desire nothing more than to live in Amity and Friendship with him".¹⁸⁷

Appendices to Chapter 6.

Appendix No. 1

Articles and Convention of the perpetual peace and amity between Sr. Martinho da Silveira de Menezes, Captain General of the fortresses and lands of the North, and Krishna Rao Mahadeo, Governor of Kalyan and its fortresses and lands of Konkan; (the same being) adjusted through the mediation of Mr. Robert Cowan, President and Governor General of the island and Castle of Bombay. To conclude (this treaty) appeared on the part of the Portuguese State, Sr. Francisco de Mallo de Castro, Commissioner General of the Cavalry of the North and Captain General of the island of Salcette; and on the part of the Maratha State, (appeared) Shivaram Pandit and Rayaji Ramji; and both parties are given sufficient power (to treat) by their respective States.

1. Since differences and discords between the Portuguese and Maratha powers have been (growing) up to the present in the province of the North, and seeing that both parties (stand) for common good and the contentment of the inhabitants, it is agreed to conclude a firm perpetual, true and sincere peace of free commerce and correspondence between the lands of the two States; the same being as follows :

185) See Idem Vol. 11. Cons Feb.9-May 8, 1740; Vol. 18. Treasury accounts of July 20, 1742; Idem Vol. 15. P. 143; Co. to Bom., Feb. 25, 1748; Letter Book Vol. 27. P. 51.

186) Idem. Vol. 13.

187) Letter Book Vol. 25, P. 406, Chimnaji had died on Dec. 17, 1740.

2. It is assented to and agreed that, since (many) are killed, wounded and robbed in the present war, on one side as on the other, both parties will remain in perpetual silence (about the same) without having any right in time (to come) to make any demands or to refer to (the same) on similar occasion.
3. And as the Marathas have in the present war taken possession of the hills of Chandavari, Takamak, Kamandrug, Kaldrug and Bara, which are defenseless, it is agreed that, forthwith and without the least delay, (the Marathas) should evacuate the same. They have carried away (some) Valuable articles which they found there, and which they are to return to the Portuguese State, giving the same to such persons as will be named by the said Sr. Martinho da Silveira de Menezes for that purpose. The cannon and munitions of war forming part of those articles should as they are, or an equal quantity of the same, or their just price be given to the said Krishna Rao Mahadeo.
4. The artillery of the Portuguese State which the Marathas have seized in the forts of Camba, Fringuipara and Saibana should forthwith be restored by Krishna Rao Mahadeo to said Sr. Martinho da Silveira de Menezes, in (whatever) condition they are found (to be). Big and small all such persons as the said Sr. Martinho etc. will appoint for that purpose.
5. In the same war prisoners have been taken by one party as by the other; each one of them should be restored together with all other captives and fugitives of war; the exchange is to be made at Bombay.
6. Some salt boats and other vessels of Kalyan are detained (by the Portuguese). as are two Portuguese Munchuas* and some other boats of their subjects by Marathas. These are to be interchanged just as they are.
7. Likewise it is agreed that the said Sr. Martinho etc. should return to Krishna Rao Mahadeo two chargers which were taken and put to the account of the (Portuguese) State, and which are to be found in the cavalry of Bassein.

* Native war-Vessel.

8. Also, it is agreed that the passage called "Cande de Tellery" should be freely continued (open) to the Marathas, who (moreover) shall be at liberty to trade and navigate the River of Nandurquy, and other rivers; (provided) they pay the usual duties and do not molest the country of the King (of Portugal) and the subjects of the State.
9. The same regard will be paid to the subjects of the Portuguese State, (carrying on) trade and commerce in the rivers and ports of Kalyan and on the lands within its jurisdiction, which may be for the convenience of either state and on an entirely reciprocal basis.
10. It is moreover agreed that any powder, ball, sulphur and lead necessary for the use and service of the lands of Kalyan, shall be permitted to be bought in the Portuguese territories, on paying the usual price and customary duties.
11. That, in case the boats belonging to the State of Kalyan and Bhiwandi, coming in and going out of the rivers of the Portuguese State, are found (carrying) up to five seers of tobacco, they are not to be stopped not molested in the least.
12. It is also agreed that after these articles of peace are executed, the merchants of Kalyan and Bhiwandi shall be permitted to hold one bazaar in the city of Bassein, which they require for trading purposes.
13. The boats of Kalyan and Bhiwandi, entering into or coming out (of the Portuguese jurisdiction), by day or by night, shall, after being examined by permitted to pass freely without any further hinderance.
14. Horses transported through the Portuguese State, either by the sea or by the land, shall be permitted to ... without impediments; (provided) those belonging to private persons pay the usual customs, and those of the State of Kalyan (only) what has been the custom (to pay).
15. And for making the peace firm and durable, which is so much to be desired for, the common good and reciprocal benefits of the two States; for making the true amity established by this new treaty more and more so; and for dispelling the causes of diffidence which at times arise, the said Sr. Martinho da Silveira de Menezes and

Krishna Rao Mahadeo pledge themselves that the soldiers and captives, hereafter running away from one State to another, (shall be returned) on demand; and to the same end the said Krishna Rao Mahadeo pledges himself that at no time will consent to a body of Marathas to enter any part of the Portuguese State, and further promises that he shall stop (every) hostility (? excepting such as) he may be driven to for defending his own lands; the Portuguese ply their word in a corresponding manner.

16. And for the exact and solemn observation of the treaty, the two contracting parties, Sr. Francisco de Nello de Castro and Siva Ram Pandit and Rayaji Ramji bind themselves to see that the said treaty will be confirmed (respectively) by Sr. Martinho da Silveira de Menezes and Krishna Rao Mahadeo, within the space of 10 days after it is signed, so that it may be executed with the greatest speed. To testify to the truth of the same, We, Sr. Francisco de Nello de Castro, the ambassador of the Portuguese State, and Siva Ram Pandit and Rayaji Ramji, the ambassador of the Maratha State, (all) being empowered to make reciprocal concessions and equipped with letters of credence regarding the embassy, sign the same.

All made and concluded in the presence and through the mediation of Mr. Robert Cowan, President and Governor General, who also signs the same.

Bombay Castle.

30 Jan. 1731-32.

10 Feb. 1732

(sd.) Robert Cowan.

Francisco de Nello de Castro.

Martinho da Silveira de Menezes.

(Bikar. Collecoao de Tratados da India Portuguese, Tomo VI;

PP. 175-178.)

Appendix No. 2

Peace capitulations agreed upon between the Grand Bagy Rao's Prandane and the Portuguese State in presence of the Senhors Vencata Rao and Dandagy Rao, Generals of the aforesaid Grand Daggy Rao's; and of Antonio Carneiro de Aleacova and Jose Pedro Emans, Plenipotentiaries for the said Portuguese State on the twenty-fourth of the month Mohorams of the year called Sur Suintit San Sallacin Moyan Alaf - in Portuguese reckoned.

2nd of May 1739. (n.s.)

1. That the provinces of Salsete and Bardez belong to the Portuguese State with all their fortifications, and that in order the said State should obtain and enjoy them, they will be evacuated of all the troops that now occupy them, with however a declaration that from the royal dues that are yearly paid by the villages to the State, the latter shall contribute forty per cent to the Grand Bagy Rao Pradane.
2. Whereas the aforesaid Provinces of Salsete and Bardez are in a ruinous condition owing to the entry of the armies, the insurance and quitance which the State makes the villages will fall to the said Grand Bagy Rao and his commanders.
3. That the islands of Corjusem and Penolm were delivered up to Bounsulo, who will remain exempted from paying the thousand Xerafins yearly which had been promised in the capitulations agreed upon in the time of Siva Botto and that a deed shall be given him to testify that he is exempted from paying them.
4. The prisoners of Salsete, Bardez and Wort and Goa will be set free on ;both sides without any reason whatever, this holding good also for the captives and the obligations which the said prisoners may have incurred will be delivered up to the State.
5. In the lands of Ponda which at the present day are under the dominion of the said Grand Bagy Rao Pradane, the merchants and inhabitants of Goa may freely trade, from which there will be levied no further dues than those they have always being accustomed to pay and they will always be able to enjoy their goods along the river and enjoy that freedom which they have always had without any alteration whatever.

6. The Portuguese State will not interfere with the lands belonging to the Grand Bagy Rao; and said Grand Bagy Rao will not interfere in the lands of the Portuguese State.

That under these six conditions a solid peace will be established between the Grand Bagy Rao Pradane and the Portuguese State in conformity with which they will be fulfilled and observed on both parts on the same day, month, era as above.

(MSS. Portuguese Records

From the Library of Evora Translations 1572-1739.)

Translate of the Capitulations sealed with the seal of Vencata Rao.

Appendix No. 3

Translate of the deed sealed with the seal of Dadagy Rao.

Agreement made in presence of the Senhors Vencatta Rao and Dadagy Rao, generals of the Grand Bagy Rao Pradane by the Senhors Antonic Carnaire de Alcacova and Jose Pedro Emans, Plenipotentiaries for the Portuguese State on the 24th of the month Mahorame of the year called Sur Santissan Sallacim Moyan Alf, according to Portuguese reckoning the 2nd of May 1739. (n.s.)

1. The Portuguese State shall contribute towards the expences of the armies which are in their lands, in order to raise the encampment, seven lacs of rupees at the rate of two xerafins for each rupee the payment of which to be in the following manner.
2. As soon as the capitulations shall have been signed by both parties there shall proceed two Portuguese of distinction in the army, with two lacs of rupees to effect the first payment and on this sum being paid the armies that are in Salcete and Bardes shall be raised and shall quit out of both provinces and shall leave the forts and fortifications that they may have occupied, leaving the lands inhabited and cultivated by their dwellers, and the whole army shall quit the limits of the Portuguese lands in whose company there shall remain the two Portuguese in the army untill they shall be satisfied in the space of eight (8) days the rupees of the second payment.

3. This second payments of three lacs shall be effected within the space of eight days in money, gold or silver, coral or escarlata; and on this payment having been made in the form aforesaid, the Portuguese State, untill it satisfies the last two lacs of rupees of the deed shall leave in hostage two distinct persons, and the two aforesaid Portuguese may then withdraw to Goa.

(idem.)

Appendix No. 4.

Translate of the Capitulations on the part of Caetano d'Souza Pereira, Commandant of the city and fort of Bassein, for the surrender of the place to Chimnaji Appa, General-in-chief of the Shahu Raja's army now before the town, under the following clause and conditions :-

1. The said Chimnaji Appa shall permit free passage out of the town to all troops, as well regular as auxiliaries, with their arms in order, drums beating and colours flying also with four pieces of cannon and two mortars.
2. He shall likewise grant free passage out to all the noble families that are now in the town, with all their moveables and effects, as also to all the Christians, Gentoos and Moors who do not choose to remain in the place, and that with all their goods and effects.
3. He shall permit free and unmolested passage out of the port of this place to all vessels of war now in it, with their artillery, and provided at all points for defence, as well as to all other embarkations, gallivats, etc. whose owners do not choose to remain in the place.
4. He shall furnish all the vessels that may be wanted (charges paid) to convey away to Bombay, Chaul or Daman as well the noble families as the common people, with all in general that choose to leave the place, with their goods and effects, which they shall carry with them; and shall engage that Angria shall not rob or strip them of what they carry, upon the sea until they have arrived at their destined port.

5. He shall likewise grant free passage to all in religious orders, and to the priests in general (who do not choose to remain in the place), with leave to carry off their goods and effects such as they may not sell beforehand.
6. He shall permit the shipping off and carrying out of the place all victualling stores and munitions of war in the town, belonging to the inhabitants and defenders; and in general all treasure in gold or silver, with every one's provisions and moveables, as likewise every thing belonging to the churches of whatever sort of value.
7. That the Christians who remain voluntarily in the place shall enjoy the liberty of worshipping God in the faith they profess, as likewise all over the district belonging to that jurisdiction, without being robbed or stripped of what they have got. The same is to be observed in every respect with the Gentoos and Moors that shall choose to stay behind, each according to him law.
8. The said Chinnaji shall forthwith release all the prisoners in his power, that they may have the benefit of coming away in my company. And I will restore all that I have got, for him to dispose of as he thinks proper, in return for those of our side.
9. On the day appointed for the garrison's evacuating the place, which is the 23rd of May (n.s.), his army shall retreat to Madrapur (Manikpur ?) that I may with my troops go over the walls and embark free of any fear of molestation from his army.
10. Chinnaji Appa himself shall engage not to enter the town with his troops till I am safely embarked with mine and all the people that go with me, and got out of the reach of the artillery of the place.
11. Chinnaji Appa shall purchase whatever provisions, moveables, or effects the inhabitants or others in the place may have and want to sell, by the means of persons of credit or trust, and to that end shall send into the town thirty such persons, or Banyans, to agree the price, paying the value to the proprietors, and receiving the things so purchased.
12. That whilst Chinnaji Appa shall be in possession of this city, he shall for ever maintain the privilege of three churches within it, - one in the town, one in the district, and one on the Island of Salsette

- for the Christians that shall remain in the said city or places stipulated for, where they may freely exercise all the acts of their religion, and the said churches shall with curates be subject to the most illustrious and Reverend Primate of India, for him to settle their proper jurisdiction for the cultivation of the said Christianity. And whatever images that I may leave behind of such as I cannot carry with me, shall be suffered to remain in the said churches with the most necessary ornaments for adorning them.

And for the security of the performance of all the above articles of capitulations the said Chimnaji Appa shall sign the same according to his custom, and shall likewise confirm and ratify them with his own seal and that of Bajirav. General of all the troops of the Shahu Raja, which being executed, the said Chimnaji Appa shall send one of his principal commanders, to my satisfaction, to remain as an hostage on board a vessel of war in the channel of the bar of this place, out of reach of the artillery and for security of such an officer I will send him of mine to stay in his army till these stipulations have been performed, when I will return him his officer in exchange of mine.

And likewise as soon as he has ratified these capitulations he shall order his people to retire from the foot of the walls into their batteries and trenches, to the distance of twenty paces; evacuating also the breaches leaving in each the number of twenty men. In the interim these shall be no innovation on either side, or any new work be carried on.

(signed)

Caetano D'Souza Pereira.

Bassein, 16th May 1739. N.S.

1. Chimmaji Appa, accept of the above articles of surrender, except the sixth, relating to the munitions of war which I will purchase; and the ninth, which I will not engage for; and for the ratification thereof I set my seal to them in my camp before Bassein the 16th May 1739. N.S.

(Bombay Public Consultations Range 1; Vol. 10. PP. 186-88).

Appendix No. 5

Articles of Peace and Agreement entered into between His Excellency Pedro Mascarenhas Count of Sandomill Vice King for the Affairs of the Portuguese in India, and the Great Bajee Rao, Panta Pradan, adjusted by the Commissary Baron de Gallenfels in the following manner in the year 1740.

1. The Forces of the Great Ballajee Bajee Rao Pradan now in Salsett and Bardes shall retire thence and resign unto the Portuguese the Fortress of Cocolim the manner it was seized but such work as have been raised since may be demolished and the Guns, Ammunition and Provision therein shall be carried away without any Hinderance whatever by the Morattas.
2. The City of Damaun as well as the Fort called St. Jeronimo or in the Country Language Lory Davana shall be retained by the Portuguese in the manner they are now enjoyed and for the subsistence thereof 'tis agreed to assign the Pragana Nacr, but as the Morattas have a Fortress in the said Pragana some Aldeas adjoining there to shall be permitted to remain with them and in Lieu there of the Portuguese shall have an Equivalent to be settled by two Persons on Each side, from the Town of little Damaun and the Aldeas contiguous thereto.
3. The Portuguese shall in no sort molest, Bessein or the jurisdictions there to belonging, neither those of Damaun, Salsett, Bellaflour, Caranjah, Choul or Morro, in like manner the Morattas engage not to Disturb the Districts of Bardez, Salsettt or what is assigned to Damaun all which the Portuguese are to Enjoy in as free a manner as they have ever hitherto done.
4. The Portuguese oblige themselves not to molest the Territorys of Fondem, Zamboly, Ponchamall, Sundah or Bednure, meaning such a part as is now or may be hereafter subdued by the Morattas.
5. Whenever the Morattas make their Attack on Angria the Portuguese engage to assist against him with their fleet.
6. The Portuguese declare they will not molest the Moratta Vessels or such as Trade under their Protection, who have full Liberty to go to Muscatt and lado with Datos, Horses etc. and should they

there have occasion to Freight one or two Vessels of that Port no Hindrance shall be given them in the same manner the Morattas oblige themselves not to molest whatever Vessels belong to the Portuguese or their Merchants.

7. Whereas on the shores of Assclona and Fondem are some Galivats and Galleys belonging to the Morattas part of which are in order and others wanting repairs those of them that can are to proceed Northward or Setting at Sundah they will repair thither with all speed for the Guard where of one hundred men are to remain and who are not to be molested nor can they disturb the provinces of Salsett or Bardes but during those Vessels continuance where they are, the Merchants are to have free Passage to the Barr and on their going to the Northward or to the Teritorrys of Sundah they are not to be obstructed.
8. All the prisoners taken on each side are to be set at Liberty and such Slaves as may fly to either party shall be delivered up.
9. The Corumbees and Patees, who have hitherto absented themselves or may hereafter absent shall return respectively, and from neither party are they to be molested.
10. All Pensioners or as they are stilled in the Country Language Vatandars that have fled on either side hitherto may if they chuse it return to their Dwallings and in future no such are to be entertained by the Portuguese or Morattas, and should any of the said Vatandars hitherto fled give any cause of Disturbance to either Party they shall be Chastized.
11. The City of Choul and Fort of Morro shall be resigned to the Morattas, but untill certain Advice is had of their having quitted the Provinces of Salsett and Bardez the Gates of the City and Fort aforesaid may be hold in possession by the English Forces, but the Morattas haver Liberty to Encamp their Troops in the Interim on the plain of St. John in Order for their assuming the places when Notice is given of their retiring from Salsett and Bardez aforesaid, 'Tis also agreed that previous to the morattas entering those places one of their Servants shall assist in taking an Inventory of the Guns and Ammunition there in being.

12. The Portuguese are to retire from the city of Choul and Fort of Morro with all their Effects and Provisions and such of the Merchants or Inhabitants who do not choose to continue there shall also be permitted to come away in likes manner.
13. The peace adjusted between the Portuguese and Bonsole (or Kempraunt) shall stand in full Force and should the latter attempt to violate it, the Morattas oblige themselves to assist the Portuguese against him, in the same manner they may assist Bonsole should the Portuguese on their part break the peace.
14. For transporting the Provisions, Ammunitions and effects from the Fort of Cocolim, the Morattas may employ the Cooleys of the five villages Contiguous thereto carry them to Langem, and then the said people are to be permitted to return back but no other of Salsett are to be called upon for that service.

This Agreement only shall stand in full Force all former ones being invalid. In Confirmation where of I sign this In virtue of the Powers given me so to do By his Excellency The Count of Sandomill Vice King of India.

Punem Sept. 18, 1740 (n.s.)

Dom Francisco Baron de Gallenfels.

This present Agreement I promise shall be ratified by his Excellency the Count of Sandomill Vice King of India and Exchange at Bombay within the space of six weeks or sooner if possible.

Accepted and Confirmed these Articles in Goa the 14th October 1740 (n.s.).

Conde de Sandomill etc.

(Bom. Pub. Con. Range 341, Vol. 11. PP. 423-26.)

Con. held on 14 Oct. 1740.

Chapter 7

SHAHU IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC LIFE

Among Shivaji's descendants, Shahu is the only king whose public and private life is both interesting and instructive. On one side he was a thorough gentleman; on the other a thorough king. He was a man without the slightest blemish on his character; and even though he had some weaknesses of his own, his lovable personality was pivot of strength on which his throne was supported. His actions as a king were not always as resolute and vigorous as his affable disposition was inspiring. His reign, however, was not a failure but an immense success; and he acquired the additional merit of the man being greater than the king.

1. SHAHU'S PRIVATE LIFE

Shahu, "An English Country Gentleman" :

Till today nothing has been written about Shahu's private life. The study of this side of his life is not only necessary for understanding the political history of his reign, but it is of equally of great interest. Presently, among other things, the hobbies and recreation of the king are described; how by day he pursued keenly and enjoyed them; and how from evening to midnight he held the council meetings (Darbars) and was soon engrossed in serious deliberations of State affairs. The lively interest he took in hunting, fishing, gardening and in open-air life, and the manner in which he enjoyed himself in these innocent pursuits at appropriate times, tempts one to call him an English country gentleman.

Mughal Influence on Shahu :

There is one event of singular importance that occurred in Shahu's life and affected its whole course. It was his early capture by the Mughal army when he was only seven years old, and his subsequent stay in Aurangzeb's camp for over 17 years. It is already observed that this

formative period of his life was spent to the best advantage.¹ But even "prison-life; in the camp of the greatest eastern emperor, had necessarily some compensating features. Strictly speaking, Aurangzeb did not treat Shahu as a prisoner and even asked him to consider himself as living in his "own house".² The latter, therefore, must have had access to all things in the gulalbar (circle of imperial residence) where he was kept. At least he had full opportunity to observe and study the day to day life in the imperial camp. Aurangzeb's court did not excel in grandeur or pomp; and, though he was a brave soldier, a learned scholar and an able ruler, he lived an extremely simple life.³ What influence Aurangzeb's daily routine had on Shahu's character is difficult to ascertain as there are no means to find. But the environment in which the prince spent the 17 long years, left some indelible marks on his mind and body.

Grant Duff's sweeping remarks :

At the outset it is necessary to refute a sweeping remark made by Grant Duff in this respect. "Unused to climb Ghats"" writes the historian about Shahu "or wander and live in the wilds of the mountain - forests, like his hardy grand-father, Shahu's childhood was spent within the imperial seraglio and it is not surprising; that, seduced by the pomp and luxury of which he partook, his habits should have continued those of a Mahomedan"⁴. Every part of this statement is not only inaccurate but untrue. We have already seen what kind of prison-life Shahu had to live.⁵ Shahu was a Hindu through and through, and did not take to Muhammedan ways of living. He not only refused to espouse Islam.⁶ but, for the first 11 years of his prison-life (1639-1700) lived on sundry sweetmeats, because he believed that "Hindus did not take cooked food in prison".⁷ The want of proper nourishment was probably the main cause of a severe and continued illness he had in 1700.⁸ Whether he changed

1) Vide Supra PP. 32-33.

2) Masir-i-Alamgiri, Modern Review, July 1916, P. 12.

3) See Sarkar's sketch of Aurangzeb's character. His Aurangzeb Vol. V, PP. 473-77.
• i.e. hills and mountain ranges.

4) History Vol. 1, PP/ 363-64.

5) Vide Supra PP. 32-36.

6) Vide Supra PP. 41.

7) Masir-i-Alamgiri, Modern Review, July 1916, P. 12. It will be mentioned further on what a devoutly religious Hindu Shahu was throughout his after-prison-life.

8) It was at first dyspepsia, and then it developed into fever and jaundice, Sarkar, Aurangzeb Vol. V, P. 204.

his diet afterwards is not known. In any case it is certain that his provisions, as those of his mother, were so meagre, that they both ran into heavy debts to maintain themselves in the emperor's camp.⁹ It is therefore sheer ignorance to say that Shahu was "seduced by the pomp and luxury" of Aurangzeb's residence.

Neither is it true to say, as Grant Duff does, that Shahu was not a "hardy" man, and that he had not climbed the Ghats or wandered in the wild forests. It might be that he was not as hardy as his grandfather Shivaji, as his father with the emperor's army, which traversed through those Ghats more than once. He braved the numerous hardships and mishaps that occurred in that army. However after he was released at Dargha in April 1707, he covered more than 800 miles through plains as well as mountain forests, and spent 10 months on his way to Satara.¹⁰ He did not rest even for a week after his enthronement, but set out again on a march against his enemies (March 1708). He fought battles in which he displayed great personal courage, and skill and efficiency in the use of arms. He undertook personal expeditions and laid sieges during which time he used to erect his residence with his own hands;¹¹ and as late as in 1748, one year before his death and at the age of 66, he informed the Peshwa, "if your army is not going against (Tulaji Angre) then we shall prepare ourselves to go."¹² And as can be noticed, he was so keen on hunting, particularly hunting tigers, that he used to spend days on end in thick and wild forests to bag his game.

Shahu suffered in health :

It is not therefore true, to suggest that Shahu took to any sluggish Mohammedan habits during his stay within the royal enclosure. The worst that he suffered was the illness in 1700, which shook his whole frame and permanently affected the vigour of his body and mind. A direct effect of his living in Mohammedan surroundings was the corruption of his

9) Vide Supra P. 33.

10) Vide Supra, Chapt. 2, and the sketch map annexed to it.

11) Capt. Gordon, who was sent on an embassy to Shahu by the governor of Bombay, writes, "The 8th (June 1739) we had audience of the Rajah, in a mean place he had erected with his own hands for his present convenience during he siege (of Miraj) The Raja had with him near 26,000 fighting men with a numerous company of pioneers, artificlers and whop-keepers etc." Bom. Pub. Con. Range 341, Vol. 10; Capt. Gordon's report entered under date July 27, 1739.

12) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 24, Entry No. 30.

language. He could not speak or write pure Marathi, which was his mother-tongue. He developed the hotch-potch of a language which the Bakhars have called "Rangade Hindustani".¹³ Whether Shahu knew any other language than Marathi is not known. Probably he picked up Persian in Aurangzeb's court; and as he had a Sanskrit seal prepared for him within a month's time from his release, and as he adopted in it a very intelligent analogy based on a story from the Puranas it can be inferred that he was not quite ignorant of Sanskrit, and that he had some acquaintance with ancient Hindu literature, or at least with the Puranas, before he left the emperor's camp.¹⁴

Mughal Society :

The prison - life had another effect on Shahu. The cultural aspect of the Mughal society in which he lived did not fail to impress his mind; and when he ascended the throne he changed some of the "rough" manners and modes prevalent in the Maratha Court. A good instance is furnished by the change he made in the mode of conferring robes of honour or appointment. "Formerly the robes were given then and there in the presence of the king. When Rajasri Shahu Maharaj returned from Mogalai (i.e. Moghal Prison) he introduced the Mogalai (Mughal) custom" of conferring the robes at a different place from where the king was sitting. If the conferee was a person of high rank, than the King's chief minister himself or a person of high dignity, then the king gave him one end of the robe. He then retired to a different place, accepted the robe, and then came back to pay his obeisance to the king".¹⁵ This interesting detail shows how minutely Shahu had observed imperial court manners. Those that impressed him for their elegance or show of authority, he introduced in his own court. As for the extreme simplicity of his private life, it was a heritage of the national character of the Marathas; but it may be added that Aurangzeb's simple living might not have failed to exert some influence on his prisoner.

13) Mar, MSS India Office Library, "Bhosale Yanchi Vanshawal", P. 49. The Selections from the Peshwa Daftar contain numerous instances of the king's speech and writing. For a short specimen, see Shivacharitra Sahitya Vol. 3, No. 437, which is all in Shahu's hand.

14) For Shahu's seal, Vide Supra P. 51.

15) Atihasik Sankima Sahitya Vol. 1, Entry No. 92.

Court friendships :

There was yet another benefit, and one of greater value, which Shahu reaped during his imprisonment. He made permanent friendships with important persons. Mention is already made of the friendly relations that developed between him and Zulfiqar Khan, the General of the Mughal forces.¹⁶ Among other persons with whom Shahu came in contact were the Rajput princes. In March 1730 he wrote of Sawai Jaysing of Jodhapur, "there has been an intimate friendship between us for a long time."¹⁷ In 1719-20 Sawai Jaising, the Rana of Chitor (Udaipur) and Rana Mohansing sent their envoys to Shahu's court, apparently to profess their friendship to the king. They were well received and sent back with befitting presents to envoys and to their masters.¹⁸ In 1734 Shahu sent an elephant and some robes of honour to Rana Jagatsing on the occasion of the latter's ascension to the throne.¹⁹ He was, moreover, always in friendly correspondence with these Ranas.²⁰ Princes of lesser note, like Durjan Sing, Anupsing and Kuwasarsing, often sought Shahu's help for maintaining their places.²¹ This friendship with the Rajput princes secured for Shahu the services of Rajput soldiers; for, so early as Feb. 1711, one Raghunath Sing was made "Sapt Sahasri" (Commander of Seven Thousand) by Shahu, while Amarsing, another Rajput, who was already in the King's service, stood security for the new officer.²² In 1735 the king enlisted in his service a party of Rajputs who came from Sawai Jaising.²³

It was owing to the intervention of his "friends" that Shahu obtained his release.²⁴ In his later life, the extension of the Maratha power in the north was due to such good relations he has formed and studiously maintained.²⁵

16) Vide Supra PP. 43-44.

17) Shahu's Diary P. 95.

18) Itihas Sangrah, Peshwe Daftar PP. 129-30.

19) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 14 Entry No. 20

20) See his letter in Tod. Rajasthan Vol. 1, P. 423n.

21) Shahu's Diary PP 96-97.

22) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 7, Entry No. 10

23) Shahu's Diary P. 124

24) Br. Mu. Add. 26, PP. 615-16.

25) Mr. Sardesai here worship of the Bhat Peshwas sometimes descends to the level of flattery. In his Riyasat, Madhya Vibhag Vol. 1, PP. 77-80 he speaks of "the advantages Balaji Vishvanath reaped from his friendships with the Rajput princes" (1718-19), on the solitary basis of the latter's newly made acquaintance with Sawai Jaising. He describes this

The King's Person :

There is no description of the King's person. "The King woru" says one Bakhar "white breeches and a loose dress. The hair on his head was abnormally long, his complexion black, and his countenance bright".²⁶

During his Mughal imprisonment Shahu was married to two ladies, Ambikabai and Savitribai.²⁷ The former died in prison, while the latter returned with him on his release.²⁸ Shahu entered into another marriage in 1714.²⁹ The lady to whom he was now married was Sakarawarbai from the Shirke family.³⁰ She is known in history as "Thorli Dhanin" (the elder queen). On March 5, 1721 Shahu married Sagunabai from the Mohite family³¹ and her nickname in history is "Dhakati Dhanin" (younger queen). Though Shahu was excessively attached to his two queens, and particularly to the younger, still he was not free from the palatial indulgences of those times. While he was yet in Aurangzeb's camp, he had grown very fond of one Virubai, a lady-in-waiting of one of his queens. She came with him in the home country (1707) and remained in his

circumstance as a help to the extension of the Maratha Power. He seems to have been ignorant of the fact that Shahu made "intimate" friendships with these northern princes before Balaji Vishvanath was made Peshwa.

26) Bharat Varsh, Shahu Maharaj Bakhar P. 41.

27) Vide Supra PP. 35-36.

28) Chitnis, Thorle Shahu Maharaj, PP. 10-11. He does not mention which queen accompanied Shahu, but it was Savitribai.

Sambhaji II, the king of Kolhapur, sent a letter of condolence to Shahu on "Savitribai's" death. The letter, which is printed in extense in Maharashtra Sahitya, Feb.-March 1923, P.300, unfortunately bears no date. Sambhaji II came to the throne in Dec. 1714. Her death therefore must have occurred after that event.

29) In July 1714, a "marriage cess" was collected to defray the expenses of the king's wedding. (Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 7, Entry No. 20). In Shiva-Charitra Sahitya Vol. 1, P. 103 and Vol. 3, P. 18 "two simultaneous marriages" of the king in his early reigns are mentioned. The reference must be to the year 1714. But it is not probable that the "two marriages" were of Shahu himself. He had another marriage in 1721 and, as he had only two queens in 1748, up to when there is no mention of the death of any one of his newly-married queens, there must have been only one marriage of Shahu in 1714. The other that took place in that year was obviously of someone in his household.

30) Chitnis, Thorle Shahu Maharaj P. 22.

31) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, Entry No. 307, P. 241 gives the date of the marriage; Chitnis, Thorle Shahu Maharaj P. 24 gives the name of the "second" queen.

32) Chitnis tells an interesting and probably true, anecdote as to how and why Shahu took to Virubai. He says that when Shahu's marriage was celebrated by Aurangzeb, the latter wished to see the bride and bridegroom together. As it was against Maratha customs to allow "strangers" to see their ladies, the occasion was met by sending Virubai with Shahu.

harem till her death in 1740. She was a lady of understanding and capacity, and it was she who managed the King's household.³³ Her influence in "politics" was even greater. Capt. Gordon in the report on his embassy to Shahu's court in 1739 says, "As we could not see Viruboy (Virubai), a woman of consequence, we sent the letter and present; she gave a civil profession in return".³⁴ She was older than the two queens, Sakarawarbai and Sagunabai; and being a favourite of the king and having great influence at his court, she kept them under her control. On all festivals and public occasions she was the first lady of the King's family to receive greetings and presents.³⁵

Two other mistresses of Shahu are said to have performed sati (self immolation) on his death (1749).³⁶ But there is no mention of his having more of them, nor of his having ever indulged in any other licentious conduct.

Children :

Shahu had many children and even grand children. They were both sons and daughters, legitimate and illegitimate. Most of them died during his life-time and there was no legitimate son living to succeed him.³⁷ Yesaji and Kusaji, two of his illegitimate sons, had attained some position at his court, and even led armies in the field.³⁸ His "adopted son", Fattesing Bhosale, the founder of the modern Native State of Akkalkot in the Deccan, was one of the prominent men of his times. He was extremely devoted to Shahu.³⁹

(Thorle, Shahu Maharaj PP. 5-6). To this the Mar. MSS. India Office No. 2960 adds that the emperor saw through the personation and purposely wished that Virubai "would rule the kingdom". Thenceforth Shahu looked upon her as his queen.

33) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 17, Entry No. 81 shows that she even looked after the repairs of the palace building.

34) Bom. Pub. Con. Range 341, Vol. 10, P. 297 sqq.

35) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 22, Entry Nos. 47, 110 and Vol. 30, Entry No. 363 show what position Virubai occupied in Shahu's family. It is to be noticed that in each one of these entries, Virubai's name comes directly after that of Shahu and before those of his queens.

36) Itihas Sangrah, Peshwa Daftar P. 2.

37) Sardesal, Riyasat Madhya Vibhag Vol. 2, P. 179; Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 33, Entry No. 116 mentions the death of a daughter on Sept. 10, 1733.

38) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 8, Entry No. 46; Vol. 11, Entry No. 50; Vol. 17, Entry No. 174. There are many other papers in these selections which describe the activities of these two brothers.

39) Idem Vol. 8, Entry No. 48.

The king had many daughters, though practically nothing is known about any one of them. The marriage of his daughter Rajasbai by Virubai was celebrated in 1723.⁴⁰ It is said that Rajasbai had an elder sister named Bhavanibai.⁴¹ About April 1746 two more daughters were married, though their very names are not known.⁴² On this occasion the governor of Bombay sent presents worth about one thousand rupees.⁴³ In 1750 two other daughters, Santubai and Gajarabai, were much persecuted by Shahu's successor, Ramraja.⁴⁴

"Educated" family :

Not only Shahu but his queens, also Virubai and other members of his family, could read and write. A facsimile of Shahu's handwriting is given in selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 11. In another of the same selections is described an occasion on which his younger queen, Sagunabai, "tore open the envelope and read every word of the letter" sent to her by the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao.⁴⁵ Virubai had even a signet which she used on her writings.⁴⁶ Numerous letters⁴⁷ written to and by the members of Shahu's family are extant; and it becomes plain from such writings that the house of Chhatrapati was not illiterate.

Yet Shahu was not a man of letters, nor does it seem that he ever did any readings. While his Brahmin Peshwas and Maratha Sardars were keen on collecting⁴⁹ manuscript copies of old books, Shahu's hobbies disclose no such pursuit on his part. His puranik (priest) sometimes read him religious books.⁵⁰

A family man :

Shahu was primarily a family man. He had great respect for his

40) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.8, Entry No. 51.

41) Riyasat, Madhya Vibhag Vol. 2, P. 179.

42) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 18, Entry No. 5.

43) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 145. The Company wrote to Bombay on Feb. 25, 1748, "We acquiese in the present of about one Thousand Rupees to the Sou Raja on the Marriage of his Daughter". Letter Book Vol. 27 P. 51.

44) See Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 6, Entry Nos. 66, 69

45) Vol. 8, Entry No. 39.

46) Parasnis, Brahmendra Swami's letter to Virubai No. 263.

47) "The life and letters of Brahmendra Swami" contain many such letters and the selections from the Peshwa Daftar contain plenty more.

48) The question of the position of the Maraha ladies in the State is discussed in the next chapter.

49) See Pesh. Daf. Vols. 18, 22, 30.

50) Itihas Sangrah Peshwe Daftar PP. 241-42.

ancestors and cherished their memories in a befitting manner. From Shahaji to Rajaram, he had their tombs constructed or repaired and always maintained in a good condition. He appointed persons to look after them, gave lands in inam to defray the expenses of thier up-keep, constructed flower beds around them, and celebrated their anniversaries with ceremony and pomp.⁵¹

No less was his care and affection for the members of his family. His attachment to his queens was so excessive that he would have been called a hen-pecked husband, had not his love been so sincere and his treatment of the rest of his family so affectionate. A slight illness of his queen created such a concern in his mind that he was ready to do any thing for her recovery.⁵² Similarly when once his grandchild was ill he personally took it to the holy shrine at Pratapgad hoping that it would recover.⁵³ Marriage ceremonies of his sons and daughters and provision of their daily needs took much of the king's time.⁵⁴ His liberality knew no bounds. On an occasion of leave-taking, his aunt (father's sister) was given "ornaments of 10,000 rupees, 7 dresses and an elephant".⁵⁵

It must be said, however, that his affection grew into weakness, and he could exert no control over his family. This often led to his unhappiness.⁵⁶

Shahu's household :

It is interesting to study the king's household, from the point of view of the outside goods that entered his palace. The Angres, who were the "admirals" of the king, and who, from their vicinity to the European trading centres on the Western Coast could procure foreign articles, supplied the same to him. A list of goods, which Shahu asked Kanhoji Angre to get for him from the English at Bombay in Aug. 1715, contains no less than 14 different entries.⁵⁷ Among other things, the king asked for English knives, rose water, candle-sticks, musk, elephant's teeth and fine cloth of many kinds. In April 1723 Kanhoji sent 750 candle-

51) Shahu's Diary P. 36, Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 8, No. 49, Vol. 30, N. 16

52) There are many instances. See e.g. Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 8, Entry No. 41; Balaji Bajirao's Diary Vol. 1, P. 86.

53) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 18, Entry No. 28.

54) Idem Entry No. 5; Vol. 8, Entry Nos. 46-47.

55) Idem Vol. 8, Entry No. 36.

56) In the last years of the king, such unhappiness was his daily fare. Vide infra.

57) The list is given in full in Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 8, Entry No. 52.

sticks and 20 bottles of rose-water on the occasion of the marriage of the king's daughter.⁵⁸ After the Portuguese possession of Bassein fell into Maratha hands (1739), rare fruits were sent from that place for Shahu's table.⁵⁹ He was moreover regularly supplied with the products of the Konkan.⁶⁰

There is a mention of some sweetmeats being sent to the king from the north,⁶¹ while there is another mention of the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao's sending to his wife a special kind of sweetmeat, made in the south.⁶² Such small things clearly show that, as the Marathas extended their sway in the south and the north - as they did during Shahu's reign - the specialties and rarities of the new places were imported to the home country, and the king's household had a good share of them.

Daily routine :

There is no authentic record of the King's daily routine. The Bakhar,⁶³ which has already been alluded to, describes it in these words, "On rising in the morning he (the king) took bath, worshipped God and read (or heard ?) Puran. Afterwards, followed by his retinue, he went out for hunting, sitting in a palanquin or riding a horse. After about two hours hunt, he returned to the palace and rested for a while.... Then he took his meal, and went to the Court. There he examined the work done since morning, gave interviews and responded to the daily ceremonials of the court. This brought the end of the work of that place, and he returned his attention to (serious) matters of government. He went through the letters (addressed to him) and ordered their replies... The number of his daily orders was 500.... Some programme of music or dancing infrequently followed".

This is a very general description, and, as will be seen hereafter, the king did not always keep to any such rigid time-table.

Love of birds and animals :

Shahu was excessively fond of birds and animals. His collection

58) Idem Entry No. 51.

59) Idem Vol. 18, Entry No. 177.

60) Idem Vol. 30, Entry No. 304

61) Ilihas Sangrah, Peshwe Daftar P. 129.

62) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 18, Entry No. 111.

63) Vide Supra.

of all kinds of both, must have formed an admirable zoo. He had elephants, camels, leopards, horses, dogs, hawks, ducks, pigeons and many curious birds and animals which he procured at great cost and trouble. He sent men to the country, at the foot of the Himalaya mountain, to get for him yaks, musk-deer and birds called "Humme" - a living specimen of which even the inhabitants of that country had not themselves seen.⁶⁴ Capt. Gordon, who was sent to his court as an emissary from Bombay, saw him on June 8, 1739 and wrote, "(the king) seemed delighted with the birds that made a part of our present". At the time the Captain took the king's leave (June 25) the latter desired that "his friend, the Governor of Bombay, would not omit to send him eight Guinea Hens, two pair of Turkeys, some Busserah pidgeons, a little mummy and any kind of curious birds". "He took fancy to my sword", further adds the Captain, "which I delivered to him".⁶⁵ Birds and animals used to be sent to him from Rajaputana;⁶⁶ and while he had employed men to catch them,⁶⁷ there is a mention of he himself having caught a bear by means of a net.⁶⁸ When four curious birds were once sent to him, he ordered "to try to get more and send them".⁶⁹ At one time he had 300 pigeons.⁷⁰

In the case of other animals, his collection was neither small nor less varied. His knowledge of horses and dogs was that of an expert, and the standard of his taste was so high that it was often difficult to get animal that would give him entire satisfaction. Once the Peshwa sent a horse which everyone praised. Still the king rejected it, saying "its fore-legs are all right, but the hind ones are not so good."⁷¹ He had a fancy for Arab horses⁷² and used to be exasperated at the Peshwa's failure to get some for him.⁷³

64) See Chandrasen's own letter to Tarabai, of Aug. 27, 1711; Bharat Varsh, Patre Yadi Vol. I, No. 50.

65) See Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, PP. 332-241.

A portion of these proceedings is translated in Chapter VII infra.

66) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 8, Entry No. 25

67) Idem Entry No. 27

68) Idem Entry No.5

69) Idem Entry No. 288 in Vol. 30

70) Idem Vol. 18 Entry No. 23

71) Idem Vol. 8, Entry No. 21

72) Idem Entry No. 23; Vol. 30, Entry No. 60 B.

73) Idem Vol. 8, Entry No. 23.

The same was the case with dogs. At the commencement of a pupping season his men went out everywhere in search for the best pups,⁷⁴ but among the scores that used to be brought, rarely one could come up to his expectations⁷⁵ Dogs of special breeds were procured from northern India⁷⁶ and the king generally liked to have a dog and a bitch of each type.⁷⁷ It seems he had a fancy for a big white dog and also a white puppy.⁷⁸ The name of his best dog was Khandya.⁷⁹

The king took pride in his possession of many elephants. In Aug. 1729 the Peshwa Bajirao and his brother Chimnaji Appa presented six elephants to him;⁸⁰ still he was soon seen in search of a few more.⁸¹ The same was the case with camels⁸² and other animals.⁸³ But it is not necessary to give all the details to show how fond Shahu was of birds and animals, and particularly of curious ones among them.

Hobbies : Hunting

Among his hobbies, Shahu had a passion for hunting. Indeed he appears to have been a born Shikari (hunter); for since his establishment at Satara (1708) to the very last year of his reign and life (1749) he never missed a hunting opportunity. Early in his reign he ordered that the jungles between Jejuri* and Purandar*, a tract of about 12 miles in extent, should be preserved for hunting. Men were not to go there for cutting wood "lest their moving about would frighten away the rabbits, stags, pigs and other animals".⁸⁴ There are many papers available to show what a passion Shahu had for this form of recreation. In a letter of March 7, 1736 the Peshwa's deputy at the king's court sends a good description of the same to his master. "The king starts for the hunt when it is yet four hours for day-break (i.e. about 2 a.m.) He returns back in the evening.

74) Idem Vol. 8, Entry No. 17

75) Idem Entry Nos. 16, 18, 19, 20

76) Idem Vol. 18, Entry No. 70

77) Idem Entry No. 71. Some of the pairs and the names Shahu gave each of them are mentioned here.

78) Idem Vol. 8, Entry No. 15

79) In the list of the names of pictures in the possession of the Satara Rajas, there is one of this dog. *Itihas Ani Altahasik*, Shake 1840, P. 343.

80) *Sel. Pesh. Daf.* Vol. 22, Entry No. 44.

81) Idem Entry No. 243; Vol. 30 Entry No. 290; Vol. 18, Entry No. 15.

82) Idem Vol. 8, Entry No. 6

83) See e.g. Idem Entry No. 28; Vol. 18, Entry No. 14; Vol. 30

84) *Sel. Pesh. Daf.* Vol. 8, Entry No. 5

* Both places S. E. of Poona.

Then he looks after the State affairs (Rajkaran) for an hour or two, and dismisses all (servants, courtiers etc.). About five to seven days have been spent in this way, and there is no knowing how long the hunt will continue. Every day food was cooked for 300-400 men is sent in the jungle where the king takes all his meals. He is very happy indeed".⁸⁵ In June 1748, when the rainy season was in full swing and rivers were flooded, the king stayed in a poorly "hut thatched with hay". It was because, as the writer of this news puts it, "hunting was ingrained in his nature".⁸⁶ This was one year before the king's death and he was 66.

Tiger shooting :

The manly game of tiger-shooting was to Shahu's special liking. He was always ready for it. On March 22, 1736, when the annual Shimga festival of Hindus was still in progress, news of the appearance of a tiger was brought to him. He did not wait to enjoy the rest of the festival but left for the hunt then and there.⁸⁷ He used to shoot the tiger "with his own hands" as a contemporary letter describes it.⁸⁸ Being kind-hearted and generous, he sumptuously rewarded those who helped him in the hunt.⁸⁹ In June 1737 a beater lost his life during a hunt. Shahu gave five Bigas of land in inam to the father of the deceased. In his order to the grantee he said, "the king knows that it is his duty to provide for your maintenance".⁹⁰

Hawking :

Hawking was another pastime of the king. Hawks were sent to him from Rajaputana.⁹¹ Once he spent as much as Rs. 5000 on their purchase.⁹²

Fishing :

Fishing had a still greater fascination for him. In a letter of Aug. 22, 1740 the Peshwa's deputy at Satara wrote to his master, "From now to

85) Idem Entry No. 32. See also Vol. 11, Entry Nos. 9, 22; Vol. 10 Entry No. 9.

86) Idem Vol. 8, Entry No. 63

87) Idem Entry No. 30; See also Entry No. 29.

88) Idem Vol. 30, Entry No. 60 A. It is necessary to mention that Shahu personally shot down a tiger, because very often somebody shoots the game while the Raja gets the credit.

89) Ibid

90) Shahu's Diary PP. 198-99.

91) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 8, Entry No. 25.

92) Idem Entry No. 28.

Dasara Diwall (i. e. from August to October) is a fishing season. The king has, therefore, fixed fishing stakes at various places. Every day he spends hours on end in angling. Today, on his return from the Shikar, a Darbar was held -- when he observed that it was necessary to have fine thread for the line of the fishing rod". The king was then told that such threads were obtainable at Burhanpur.* Upon this he ordered that the Peshwa should purchase 150 rupees worth of thread and send it to Satara with such a despatch that it would reach him (the king) "within 20 days of the order".⁹³

Gardening :

Not less was the King's interest in making gardens and orchards. As early as June 1719 seedlings of 13 kinds of different trees and 6 kinds of different flower-plants were ordered by him from Aurangabad*.⁹⁴ On another occasion he is mentioned to have asked for 50 orange plants for his own orchard,⁹⁵ and distributed 10,000 stones of Mango fruit for new plantations.⁹⁶ He took care to see that the new trees were planted and the gardens and orchards were well looked after. In Feb. 1739 he told the Peshwa's deputy, "Every year 20,000 stones of Mango fruit are taken from (our) orchard at Sivapur* for planting new trees. We order that the headman of every village in the Poona district should make a list of the trees that are newly planted. There are no Mango orchards in Poona district. Pains should therefore, be taken to see that such orchards are grown in every village".⁹⁷

In-door recreations :

Among the indoor recreations of Shahu, dancing had its place. Good - looking girls proficient in that art were sent to his court from even outside places. The king was also fond of music. In July 1749, five months before his death, there were in his employ over 40 singers, court-players

* About 335m, N. E. Satara

93) Idem Entry No. 26

* About 176m, N. E. Satara

94) Shahu's Dairy P. 211. The names of all those trees and flower plants are given on that page.

95) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 18, Entry No. 16

96) Idem Vol. 9, Entry No. 56

97) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 18, No. 17.

* Near Poona.

and such like people.⁹⁸ Probably there was a court-bard too.⁹⁹ There were professional jesters and other persons to keep the king in a good mood.¹⁰⁰ Shahu's one favourite habit was to smoke a hukka (hubble-bubble).¹⁰¹

Devoutly religious :

Shahu was a devoutly religious king. He made almost innumerable grants to temples, priests, saints and "virtuous men who thought good of the kingdom".¹⁰² The descendants of the famous saints of Maharashtra like Eknath, Tukaram and Ramdas, were all patronised by him.¹⁰³ A Brahmin expounded the Vedas to him, whereupon he gave a piece of land to the Brahmin (June 1733).¹⁰⁴ Though a staunch Hindu by faith he had no hatred for Islam whose followers were both his subjects and neighbours. He made similar grants to a Mohammedan priests and saints.¹⁰⁵ One curious incident recorded is that in Jan. 1720 he gave an annuity to a Brahmin who had done "Prithvi Pradakshina" (pilgrimage round the earth), which act was supposed to have religious efficacy.¹⁰⁶ The Brahmin in this case, probably, merely traversed India from one end to the other.

In every month of Magha, of the Hindu year*, Shahu visited Jejuri a famous religious place in the Deccan.¹⁰⁷ He also quite frequently visited other well-known Maratha temples of Amba Bhavani at Pratapgad.¹⁰⁸ and Tuljapur.¹⁰⁹ He was not above the religious beliefs of his times. There

98) Idem Entry No. 35

99) Idem Entry No. 34.

100) The names of such persons and some anecdotes of Shahu are given in Riyasat, Madhya-Vibhag Vol. 2, PP. 180-84.

101) It was so characteristic of Shahu to sit enjoying his hukka that a special picture of the king in that position was made, probably by his court-painter. Itihas Ani Aitihasik Shaka 1840 P. 343. "List of pictures in the possession of Satara Rajas".

102) The sanads of these grants are scattered over in Itihas Sangrah; Rajwade's Vols. Sel. Pesh. Daf. ; Shiv Charitra Sangrah; Aitihasik Sankita Sahitya and other publications of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal.

103) Itihas Sangrah, Peshwe DAftar PP. 237-40.

104) Idem PP. 241-42

105) Idem PP 240-41; 248-50

106) Idem PP. 257

* . . . I.e. about Dec. - Jan.

107) Shahu's visits to Jejuri in the month of Magha are so often recorded that it can be assumed that he went there every year in that month. See Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 8, Entry Nos. 4, 8, 10, 11, 12; Vol. 18, Entry No. 34; Vol. 22, Entry No. 112.

108) Idem Vol. 22, Entry No. 2; Vol. 30, Entry No. 255; Vol. 18, Entry No. 23.

109) Idem Vol. 18, Entry No. 27

is nothing strange, therefore, in his fulfilling the vow of giving a certain amount of gold to the Jejuri temple when he succeeded in his political project;¹¹⁰ nor in his having his sick queen weighed against gold, which, by his order was distributed among the three Hindu religious places of Benares, Prayag and Gaya with the hope that she would recover (1748)¹¹¹.

Shahu's religious acts must have necessarily made him more popular among his countrymen, who by nature are religious minded; and, as there was no moral blot on his character to give any appearance of hypocrisy to his religiousness, such an effect must have been greater.

A "Farmer" king :

It was a sign of greatness in Shahu that he always remembered that he was a man first and king afterwards. In his public life he was human, sympathetic and understanding; in private, he looked upon himself as a humble man. While, as Chhatrapati, he was at the head of a large kingdom, in his private capacity he was a "patil" (head of a village) and "Deshmukh" (head of a district). He always styled himself as Deshmukh of the districts of Wai.¹¹², Karhad,¹¹³, and Indapur;¹¹⁴ and he asserted that he was the patil of Ellore,¹¹⁵ then a village in the Nizam's dominion.

As a Deshmukh he used a different seal. In the one which he had for the district of Wai, the symbol he adopted was a plough.¹¹⁶ In private life he was a simple "farmer" and there is no wonder that his subjects, who almost were themselves farmers, were devoted to their "farmer-king".

2. SHAHU IN PUBLIC LIFE

Contrasted with this apparently care-free sort of private life is to be described the more serious governmental work Shahu did everyday.

110) Idem Vol. 30, Entry No. 337.

111) Balaji Bajirao's Dairy Vol. 1, P. 36. Once before in Nov. 1735 elephants, camels, horses, cows etc. were given away by Shahu in the belief that such an act would bring relief to his sick queen. (Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 8, No. 41).

112) Rajwade Vol. 20, Entry No. 43, 44.

113) Idem Vol. 15, Entry No. 59.

114) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.31, Entry No. 120

115) Idem Vol. 30, Entry No. 166.

116) Rajwade Vol. 20, Entry No. 43. A print of the seal is given here.

In this respect it is necessary once again to refute another sweeping remark of Grant Duff. The historian says that Shahu "was pleased at being freed from the drudgery of business, and in following his favourite amusements of hawking, hunting and fishing".¹¹⁷ If this were true and if throughout his life Shahu pursued nothing but personal pleasures, then these pages would have been written in vain to describe the reign of a do-nothing king. But such was not the case and Grant Duff's statement is untrue. Voluminous correspondence of Shahu's times has now come to light which makes it perfectly clear that very few events occurred in his kingdom without his previous command or at least cognizance. Shahu was a king and not merely a private gentleman. The Bakhars do not exaggerate much when they assert that he "finished five hundred political transactions a day".¹¹⁸ He was the living centre of the political life of his raj. Appointing or dismissing officers and under-officers, administering justice, assessing or abating revenues, sending or recalling generals, mobilizing armies, directing sieges, concluding treaties and many other acts necessary for consolidating the existing kingdom and ensuring its expansion was the king's daily work. This will be made abundantly clear in this chapter and the next and a critical examination of Shahu's shortcomings will also be made.

Capital Shahunnagar (Satara) :

In June 1674 Shivaji made Raigad fort the capital of his newly established kingdom. In Oct. 1689 that fort fell in Aurangzeb's hands and Rajaram, the reigning king fled to the south. For the next seven years (1690-97) Jinji Fort, where the latter was continuously but indifferently besieged by Mughal armies, served as his seat of government. On his return to the home country he made Satara fort the new capital of the Maratha kingdom.¹¹⁹ That stronghold also was capitulated to Aurangzeb in April 1700, and Shivaji II and his mother-regent Tarabai moved from place to place as the emperor's armies took the Maratha forts one after another. At the time of Aurangzeb's death (Feb. 1707) most of these lost forts were recaptured by the officers of Tarabai, who then fixed her quarters at Panhala fort.¹²⁰ Satara, which

117) History Vol. 1, P. 364

118) Bharat Varsh, Shahu Maharaj Bakhar P. 41

119) Riyasat, Purvardha PP. 671-72.

120) Idem P. 710.

was one of the fortresses thus retaken, was surrendered to Shahu in March 1708. He made it his capital and it remained so till the downfall of his branch of the Maratha kingdom. (1818).

But it was not the fort of Satara that was used as the capital nor is it where Shahu lived the rest of his life. A new town was built along the northern base of the fort (1721), and as it was founded by the king himself, it was called Shahunagar (Shahu's town) - the forerunner of the modern town of Satara.¹²¹ The palaces of the king and his two queens, and the palatial residences of all his ministers and most of the noblemen, were built here, and the king adopted early measures for the proper development of the town. Streets were made, squares built, marketing places established, and to supply water to the palaces as well to the town, aqueducts were constructed from the Yavteshvar hills, about 8 miles to the west of the town.¹²²

Up to Shahu's time the capital and residence of Maratha kings had always been a fort. Shahu's preferences, therefore of a town built on the open plains to a naturally strong fortress like that of Satara is not without political significance. His aim was not to dominate the country with the help of military strongholds; he showed, instead, that he wished to be a plain civil ruler.

Darbars :

Shahu appears to have understood the real purpose of the Ashta Pradhan system established by his grandfather. The annals of his reign are full of accounts of his Darbars. These latter were not in those days mere ceremonial functions as they are in present times. Shahu's darbars were essentially, what in modern terms may be described as, cabinet or council meetings. Their purpose was not, however, always or wholly political. In a Darbar held on Aug. 22, 1740 a discussion was held on

121) Chitnis, Thorle Shahu Maharaj P. 23. Riyasat, Madhya Vibhag Vol. 2 PP. 190-91. In the itinerary of Bajirao 1, given at the end of Balaji Bajirao's Diary (Vol. 2 P. 221) the first mention of Shahunagar is of Aug. 27, 1721. Till that time it was Satara fort where Bajirao is said to have been meeting Shahu. So it can be taken that Shahunagar came to be built in the beginning of 1721. See also Sol. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 8, Entry No. 2.

122) Chitnis PP. 23, 25. Riyasat, Madhya Vibhag Vol. 2, PP. 190- 95 contains an interesting description of the historical buildings etc. of the town. As it is a common practice in Maratha towns, Maratha names of the days of a week were given to main streets. Other streets, squares and important places in the town were named after the historical personages of Shahu's time. A big fire broke out in the town in March 20, 1753 and destroyed most of the residences.

fishing and hunting, and Shahu advocated "it is better to have fine thread for the line of the fishing rod". The proposition was approved by the persons present and remedies suggested.¹²³

Shahu's Darbars are famous for free discussions of political matters. Grant Duff himself mentions one such occasion on which a heated debate took place between the Peshwa Bajirao and the Pratinidhi Shripatrao on the question whether extension of the Maratha Power should be made first in the north or in the south. The king is said to have been impressed by the former's eloquence and arguments and approved of his contention.¹²⁴ There are numerous instances of such meetings being often held by Shahu;¹²⁵ and it is to the credit of the king that, even when he was sometimes engrossed in the pursuit of a personal pleasure like hunting, he spared every day or night enough time for "Rajakarbhar"¹²⁶ (care of the kingdom). In respect of external affairs, before an expedition was undertaken, it was thoroughly discussed in all its aspects and then a decision reached.¹²⁷ Similarly in matters of internal administration, the king was not infrequently assisted by such discussions in formulating his policies.¹²⁸

A Darbar was held any time from early morning to late night.¹²⁹ The time taken up in a single meeting was not fixed, it being generally determined by the nature of the business done. On Sept. 23, 1735 the king, on his return from hunting, held a Darbar in the evening, which lasted right until midnight.¹³⁰ Shahu used to give a most patient hearing to the talks of others, but he was generally firm in his opinions.¹³¹ He was very strict in maintaining the moral purity of his court. On one occasion he forbade a councillor from attending Darbars because the latter had committed some licentious act.¹³²

123) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 8, Entry No. 26

124) History Vol. 1, PP. 399-401.

125) The selections from the Peshwa Daftar contain too many instances to quote. See e. g. Vol. 11, Entry Nos. 8, 16, 22, 25, 30; Vol. 12, Entry Nos. 14, 76; Vol. 17, Entry No. 65; Vol. 20, Entry No. 4; Vol. 33 No. 254.

126) Idem Vol. 6, Entry No. 32.

127) Idem Vol. 77, Entry Nos. 46-47

128) See for instance Idem Vol. 1, Entry No. 65; Vol. 12 No. 76.

129) Idem Vol. 8, Entry No. 23 (morning); Vol. 30, Entry No. 245 (night)

130) Idem Vol. 12 Entry No. 76

131) Idem Vol. 33, Entry No. 254. The king's opinion of the conditions on which foot-soldiers should be employed.

132) Idem Vol. 18, Entry No. 5

"Letters" :

Next in importance to the council meetings was the large number of daily despatches from the king's court. These were the "Rajpatre" or king's "letters" to his officials.¹³³ The "letters" were not all of the same nature. The non-political ones were of different kinds and had different names. Thus, for instance, a judgement was called "Nivadpatre", a deed of grant "Watanpatra", an order of annuity "Vrittipatra" and so on. Strictly political communications issued from the court were also called differently, according to the nature of the occasion on which they were issued. A command was made by an "Adnyapatra", congratulations sent by a "Samadhanpatra", and letters of safe conduct forwarded by an "Abhaypatra". Besides, Shahu often wrote orders in his own hand.¹³⁴ These were called "Swadasturchi Patre". Even if the Chitnis wrote for him, as he usually did, the king generally added a few words of his own.¹³⁵

The letters sent to the king were equally numerous, particularly because the king liked to be kept informed of every detail. He severely reprimanded those who did not write to him regularly, and the Peshwa was often prominent among the delinquents. On March 21, 1726 the king wrote letters to the Peshwa and three other officers, and in these he said, "We have received no letters from you. We do not know how far you have proceeded, nor what you are intending to do. You are responsible servants (of the State), and it is necessary that you should send letters by special messengers and inform us of your proceedings at regular intervals. It is amazing that you have not written since your departure (from hence). We want to know where you have gone, and what you are doing and intend to do. We command that you send us a letter a day".¹³⁶

Over and above these political and governmental "letters" Shahu wrote others which were of a personal nature. Thus, for instance, on Nov. 30, 1716 he wrote to his Senapati, "yours to hand. You write, 'for some time I have been suffering from stomach-ache, though I feel a

133) Most of these "letters", orders, decisions etc. are to be found in Shahu's Diary, Selections from the Peshwa Daftar and Itinas Sangrah. The publications of Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal contain a few more, and so do Bharat Varsha and other periodicals.

134) See Shahu's Diary P. 8, Entry No. 19

135) For a specimen see Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 11, Entry No. 50. The facsimile of Shahu's handwriting is also produced in this volume.

136) Shahu's Diary P. 6.

little better at present'. We are very glad to hear that your pain is less. Hope you inform us (by your next) that, you have taken some medicine which has cured you completely".¹³⁷ Being of a sympathetic nature, the king was the first to commiserate with his suffering servants, just as he was the first to congratulate them on their gains and victories.¹³⁸

"Business" was no "drudgery" :

Shahu's insistence on being kept informed of the day-to-day activities of his generals and other officers clearly shows that, "business" was no "drudgery" to him. Nor did he seek to become free from any supposed drudgery. An instance or two may be added to show how immediately he was connected with the essential day-to-day work of keeping the country free from external and internal enemies.

In regard to external enemies, the Nizam's case supplies a good instance. On Sept. 18, 1722 Shahu wrote to two Maratha commandants in the south, "News has reached us that the Nabob (Nizam) has gone up to Kadapa* and is on his way to Arcot. When he reaches the latter place he is sure to create some disturbance at Trichanapali - for the defence of which the king has already made provisions. If the Nabob enters that territory make an attack on him. Our armies will not fail to be on the spot so soon we know that the Nabob has descended the Ghat. Don't fail to keep the forts in a posture of defence".¹³⁹ An alliance was made with the Nizam in Feb. 1723,¹⁴⁰ and Maratha armies were sent against his enemy, Mubariz Khan.¹⁴¹ On Jan. 7, 1724 Shahu wrote to three generals of these armies, "Arrange your plans after full consideration and do not be hasty. As the Mogal (Mubariz Khan) has a large army and is well equipped, make no impatient attack on him - We are sending Bajirao Pradhan to succour you".¹⁴² On Feb. 15, 1724 the king ordered all his army leaders, "Proceed to the province of Hyderabad* with strong armies - The Sarlashkar and Bajirao Pradhan have been already sent to join you - Make a heavy attack (upon the enemy).¹⁴³

137) Idem P. 79. For a similar letter to Chimnaji Appa, see Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 33, Entry Np. 84.

138) For a congratulatory letter see Shahu's Diary P. 28, Entry No. 71.

139) Shahu's Diary P. 2.

140) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 22, Entry No. 4

141) Vide Supra PP. 226-27

142) Shahu's Diary P. 2

* 161 miles by rail from Madras. Thornton.

+ Then in the possession of Mubariz Khan.

143) Idem PP. 3-4

In this way the king always kept himself informed of the movements of his external enemies, devised defensive and offensive measures, and gave detailed directions to his generals in carrying them out.

Rebels :

Still more vigilant was the king against internal enemies. The cases of Chandrasen Jadhav, Kanhoji Bhosale, Udaji Chavan and others clearly show that Shahu, like a true king, was more concerned about rebels and other disturbers of peace than he was about the external enemies. His methods of dealing with the former were also more vigorous and determined. The case of Chandrasen Jadhav furnishes a good instance. Shahu's court diary for 1716-17 records the following details of the King's moves against the rebel.

- Dec. 14, 1716 : Sent special scouts for the news of Chandrasen. Wrote to the Senapati.
- Dec. 18, 1716 : Sent scouts for news of Chadrasen.
- Dec. 19, 1716 : Sent scouts for news of Chandrasen.
- Dec. 25, 1716 : Wrote Mansing More and Sultanji Nimbalkar (two generals) and to Peshwa (Apparently to take measures against C.)
News of C's halts brought. (places mentioned).
- Dec. 26, 1716 : — do —
- Dec. 27, 1716 : — do —
- Dec. 28, 1716 : — do —
- Dec. 30, 1716 : Letters to Senapati; Peshwa and other generals.
- Dec. 31, 1716 : News of Chandrasen's further marches and halts brought. (places mentioned).
- Jan. 4, 1717 : — do — , Sent scouts for fresh news.
- Jan. 5, 1717 : News of C. brought (places mentioned).

Jan. 6, 1717 : The Senapati and the Peshwa arrived at a short distance from the king.

News that C. marched forth.

These entries, which form only a part of the events recorded in the Diary for the years 1716-17, shed a fresh light on the day-to-day business of Shahu's Court. As for the rebel Chandrasen, Shahu hated him like anything and always called him "Haramkhor" (a perfidious rogue).¹⁴⁵

Similarly, on April 26, 1736, when the king first heard of the desertion of Kanhoji Bhosale (Nagpurkar), "he proceeded in person against him about 4 a. m." and took immediate steps to correct the deserter.¹⁴⁶ In 1738 he undertook a personal campaign against Udaji Chavan, another disturber of peace.¹⁴⁷ In 1748, one year before the end of his reign, he intimated to the Peshwa that, in the last resort, he would go in person against Tulaji Angre, who was then defying his orders.¹⁴⁸ In the light of such events, Grant Duff's remark that Shahu "was pleased from being freed from the drudgery of business", is unsustainable.

Inspection :

It was Shahu's nature to keep implicit faith in men that were appointed to certain post, and his government suffered much from the want of a proper controlling authority. Still it seems that he was not unaware of the situation, for he sometimes went on a tour of inspection. In the first few years of his reign he toured about the country quite frequently. The Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 30 (Entry No. 307) contains Shahu's court-diary of some of these years, and therein are given his day-to-day halts and public transactions. In later years the tours were undertaken only now and then. In Dec. 1726 he visited Lohagad*, where he "stayed one day and inspected the forts."¹⁴⁹ On Jan. 9, 1729 Bombay wrote to the Company, "Shahu Rajah was coming with a considerable army to visit his garrisons on the sea-coast that are under

145) Idem Vol. 7, Entry No. 13.

146) Idem Vol. 30, Entry No. 3. The date given by the editor is wrong.

147) Idem Vol. 36, Entry No. 10

148) Idem Vol. 24, Entry No. 30

149) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 13, Entry No. 17

* About 80m. N. W. Satara

the command of Angria"¹⁵⁰ In Jan. 1732 he went onto the side of Phallan.¹⁵¹ In January of the next year he had a long tour about Satara.¹⁵² In Dec. 1737 he toured in the direction of Poona.¹⁵³ After the conquest of the island of Salset from the Portuguese in 1737, he visited the fort of Arnala in the district.¹⁵⁴ His yearly religious journeys, however, to Jejuri and other places also gave him an opportunity of inspecting the neighbourhood.

Casting of guns :

One important activity of the king, on which he was exceedingly keen, merits special mention. This was his interest in casting guns. Since Shivaji's times Maratha weapons, like most of their war methods, had undergone a change. One instance of this change was their endeavour to provide themselves with adequate artillery. As they could not depend upon supplies from others, they had established foundries to cast guns of a fairly large size. Capt. Gordon, who visited Poona, the home of the Peshwas, in 1739 writes, "I visited the foundry where I saw many Cohorn and Bombshells, said to have been cast there, and a form of a thirteen inch mortar. I was told they make these with great care, and have learned the art of running iron for making shott".¹⁵⁵

A similar foundry was at work at Satara under Shahu's personal supervision. A letter written about April 1738 by the Peshwa's deputy at the court describes how much engrossed the king was in casting guns. After mentioning that Shahu was annoyed at the Peshwa's failure to send the metals necessary for casting, the writer adds, "When a gun is to be cast all the melting is done at one and the same time. The king has constructed the furnace and made forms of wax. By the time earthen forms are laid on those (of Wax), the metals must be ready for melting — The whole establishment is very vast".¹⁵⁶ In May 1734, when Shahu was casting a gun it burst into pieces, and "he felt exceedingly sorry for it".¹⁵⁷

150) Bombay Letters Received Vol. 1.

151) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, Entry No. 86.

152) Idem Vol. 8, Entry No. 7

153) Idem Vol. 17, Entry No. 74

154) Idem Vol. 22, Entry No. 122

* 37 m. N. E. Satara, Thornton.

155) Bom. Pub. Con. Range 341, Vol. 10 P. 297 sqq.

156) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vo. 17, Entry No. 32. See also Entry No. 45.

157) Idem Vol. 33, Entry No. 205

Administration of Justice :

Shahu took greater interest in the internal affairs of his own kingdom than in making preparations for invading the territories of others. In particular he was very much concerned about the administration of justice. Before he left the Mughal camp (April 1707) he was commanded by the emperor, "to administer justice in person".¹⁵⁸ Shahu was a man of his word, and if he had promised to obey the command and obviously he did then he kept his promise throughout his life. In the "Vatanpatre Nivadpatre Vagaire" and Shahu's Diary are printed extensively some judicial decisions of his court. In every one of them the king is personally present "to do justice". He did not, however, do all the work of administering justice alone and unassisted. The main responsibility was borne by the Nyayadhish (Chief Justice). Every case was adequately decided by the Nyayasabha (Assembly of Justice), that is to say, the assembly of prominent men who were supposed to have personal knowledge of the case, and who, on special invitation gathered together.¹⁵⁹ A very important case of Aug. 28. 1722 is given in full in Rajwade Vol. 20 (Entry No. 44). The king, his chief ministers and other officers, and over 160 prominent men of more than five districts assembled to decide it. "The king personally administered oath to every one gathered, and charged them to be impartial, to remember truth and do justice".

Other cases show that Shahu took genuine interest in his work and never allowed any sordid motives to touch his mind in coming to decisions. In this respect his actions are to be contrasted with those even of his officers, who were not above corruption. His Peshwa Bajirao used to sell justice and the severe words Shahu said in this matter go to show how much it pained him to see any injustice done in his kingdom.¹⁶⁰

Till the very end of his life, Shahu personally administered justice. The last case so far known is one of June 5, 1749.¹⁶¹ This was only 6 months before his death, and he was 67 years old.

158) Rajwade Vol. 15, Entry No. 289.

159) For description of the judicial system as it obtained during Shahu's reign. Vide infra.

160) See Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 17, Entry No. 52.

161) Shahu's Diary PPI 172-78.

Other matters :

Similarly, Shahu took personal interest in the assessment or remission of land revenues, in fixing or reducing other taxes, in encouraging trade and commerce, and in such other matters as are necessary for maintaining peace and bringing prosperity to the kingdom. These will be described in detail in the next chapter.

Appointments :

Other official routine business at Shahu's court included the appointments of officers. Shahu personally made all appointments, transfers and dismissals. From the Mukhya Pradhan to the Lekhak (clerk), all officers and servants were appointed by him.¹⁶² It was quite a big affair to appoint a new Peshwa or a similar high officer. Thus, for instance, when Balaji Bajirao was made Mukhya Pradhan on June 25, 1740 he was given a head-dress, a long dress, a blanket, a turban, a pair of breeches, a sword, a dagger, a pearl ornament, an elephant and the seals of office.¹⁶³ His Mutalik (deputy) was also appointed on the same day and he was given a head-dress and a blanket.¹⁶⁴

Reception :

Next to the ceremony of appointments was that of receiving officers and giving them audience. Great preparations were made on such occasions. In Nov. 1714, when Shahu's admiral, Kanhoji Angre went to Satara to pay his homage to the king for the first time, special robes of honour and ornaments were requisitioned.¹⁶⁵ On May 3, 1747 Tulaji Angre, son of Kanhoji, went to Satara for the same purpose. What took place on that occasion gives a good idea of the manner of court-receptions. "Tulaji arrived near the Mahadara (about 8m. W. Satara) at about 8 o'clock in the morning. The king, hearing this, ordered the Pratinidhi, "Go and meet the admiral and bring him up to Sanwar (street) where we will come". The Pratinidhi did so. The king went up to the Tiger's Cage (in Sanwar street) where Tulaji had already dismounted and was waiting. The king came out of the Palanquin. Tulaji, by himself,

162) In Shahu's Diary PP. 41-80 are given the appointments etc. of the Ashta Pradhans whose means will be mentioned in the next chapter. The Selections from the Peshwa Daftar mention most of the minor appointment etc.

163) Shahu's Diary 99. 46-47, 49-50.

164) Idem P. 50

165) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 7, Entry No. 21

came up to the king, placed his head on (the king's) feet and presented some money. Flowers of gold and silver were showered (on the king). Shahu, on his part put a blanket on Tulaji and went back to the court sitting in his palanquin".¹⁶⁶

Public occasions :

The hindu festivals of Dasara, Sankrant and others were the occasions on which the king sent greetings to his officers and noblemen (Sardars) and received the same in return.¹⁶⁷ On the Dasara festival in 1735 (Sept. 15) the names of over 160 persons who sent greetings and presents to the king are mentioned.¹⁶⁸ This list of names of all sorts of persons show how popular the king was. It also shows what curious presents he used to receive.¹⁶⁹

King's practical sympathy :

Finally it is worth recording that Shahu, always true to his genial nature, used to pay visits to the houses of his servants in their hour of grief and cheer them up. In June 1743, when one Mahadaji, "an old servant of the State" died. Shahu went to the house of the deceased more than once to condole with the latter's family.¹⁷⁰ In June 1747 the King's minister, Pant Sachiv had a sudden attack of rheumatism. "The king called upon him at his house and spoke a few soothing words". He sent some presents also to the sick minister.¹⁷¹ The king had thus won the hearts of his people by means of his practical sympathy.

3. Shahu's death

Shahu's death was followed by a well-nigh revolution in the Maratha kingdom. The Peshwa, who up to that time was a mere officer under the departed king, acquired sudden importance and became the practical head of the government. As the events which led to this transformation are important from every point of view, it is intended to describe them in detail.

166) Idem Vol. 24, Entry No. 15

167) Shahu's Diary PP. 220-31 gives the names etc. of persons who participated in such greetings in 1724, 1726, 1731 and 1735.

168) Idem PP 231-35.

169) Among other things Shahu received a pair of breeches and other dresses.

170) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 23, Entry No. 8.

171) Idem Entry No. 18.

Shahu's last years :

The last few years of Shahu's life were marked by domestic unhappiness. Virubai, his favourite, died a sudden death on Dec. 24, 1740.¹⁷² It appears that she was a capable lady and managed the king's household quite efficiently. In any case Shahu enjoyed perfect domestic peace until her death. After 1740 his two queens, Sakwarbai and Sagunabai, who were up to that time kept under control by Virubai, became the chief according to their own will within the palace, but began to dabble in political affairs also.

It was largely Shahu's own fault. He had always been supinely kind and affectionate to them, and now it was beyond his power to restrain their waywardness. Sakwarbai, the elder queen was of an overwhelming nature; while Sagunabai was ingratiating and had won the better part of the king's affection.¹⁷³ Both of them sought to acquire power and estate; and the king was driven to end this destructive rivalry by rigidly fixing the rules of their conduct. The rules were as follows -

"(1) Neither queen should quarrel with the other; (2) the king should grant to each queen similar cash allowances and lands; (3) all jagirs in the occupation of the queens without sanads should be surrendered; (4) the queens should not requisition supplies of money from alienated places; (5) the queens should not seize lands in other persons' Saranjams or Jagirs; (6) the queens should not confiscate hereditary grants like Patilki or Deshmukhi; (7) whoever assigns to one queen a village should do the same to the other; (8) the queens should not take sides in the disputes arising at Shahunagar (the capital); (9) the queens should not interfere with suits brought by creditors against debtors; (10) and the queens should not levy taxes or tolls".¹⁷⁴

These rules themselves indicate the activities in which the queens indulged. Even worse was their interference with the political affairs of the kingdom. They sent armies or stopped them from being sent, recommended who should command them, and named the very places where the generals should halt.¹⁷⁵ What is more surprising is that the

172) Shahu's Diary P. 37 and Sol. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 8, Entry No. 48 mention the death of a "queen", who obviously was Virubai.

173) Chitnis, Thorle Shahu Maharaj P. 120.

174) Bharat Varsh, Patre Yadi Entry No. 41

175) Sol. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 28, Entry Nos. 2, 3, 34, 56; Vol. 25, Entry No. 23.

Sardars obeyed their orders. Even the Peshwa used all means to obtain the queens's favour.¹⁷⁶ A news-writer at the Nizam's camp wrote about Dec. 1747. "At present the government at Satara is in the hands of the queens".¹⁷⁷ The king was not unaware of the situation and complained, "It is a very unhappy state of affairs that even great leaders of armies are obeying orders of the queens in coming to or going away from Satara". (June 1748)¹⁷⁸

Sagunabai died at Jejuri on Aug. 15, 1748.¹⁷⁹ The loss of his younger queen was a crowning blow to the king in his old age. He was now 66 and had lost in recent years many of his trusted officers. Jivaji Khanderao Chitnis died in Jan. 1743, Shripatrao Pratinidhi in Jan. 1746 and Naro Ram Mantri about the same time.¹⁸⁰ These officers, particularly Naro Ram, who acted as the king's councillor, were also the companions of the king and their loss had a saddening effect on his mind. Moreover, the king's financial conditions were extremely unsatisfactory and the constant pressure of the creditors was no small trouble to him.¹⁸¹ Above all, the fact that he had no son to succeed him - the sons that were born to him having died in their infancy¹⁸² was of late greatly exercising his mind.¹⁸³

176) See for instance Idem Vol. 8, Entry Nos. 42, 43.

177) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vpl. 26, Entry No. 16

178) Idem Vol. 28, Entry No. 56, See also Bharat Varsh, Patre Yadi Entry No. 62.

In his diary of March 8, 1748 Ananda Ranga Pillal enters, conversation he had with Governor Dupleix on the queens, influence at the Court of Satara. "Sahu Raja does nothing without consulting his two wives who really exercise all power --- ". "Why does he need to bring women into the matter ?" asked the governor. "Have you not heard" retorted the diarist "If Shahu Raja who is a wise king and whose country is at peace, did not listen to his wives, but ruled with justice, he would with his cavalry soon bring these countries under his umbrella. But he listens to his wives who allure and lead him astray --- ". Diary Vol. IV PP. 414-15. Ananda Ranga's information was right so far as the recent increase of the queen 's' influence at Shahu's court is concerned. But it was not that the king did "nothing without consulting his two wives". On the contrary the king was very much concerned at the growth of his queens' intrusiveness. Ananda Ranga's pointed reference to wives who "allure and lead" their husbands "astray" was, as is made clear in the next few lines of his Diary, to what he thought were the unhappy consequences of N. Dupleix's being under the influence of Madame Dupleix.

179) Shahu's Diary P. 39.

180) Marathi Riyasat, Madhya Vibhag Vol. 2, PP. 103-04.

It is said that a pet elephant of the king died about the same time. Idem P. 104. The king's favourite dog, Khandya had died some time before.

181) The king died in debt. See "Treaties, Agreements and Sanads" P.46.

182) Grant Duff, History Vol. 2, PP. 30-31

183) Idem P. 30

No loss of reason :

Grand Duff says, "The Raja Shao had for some years, been in a state of mental imbecility, brought on, it is said, in consequence of the death of his youngest wife Sagoona Bye Mohiteye; but as his health declined he recovered the use of his intellect".¹⁸⁴ In a footnote the historian adds that Shahu was afflicted with a "harmless silly madness" and committed ludicrous acts.¹⁸⁵ This statement is discounted by the fact that "some years" did not intervene between the deaths of Sagunabai and Shahu. She died in Aug. 1748 and he in Dec. 1749. Besides, there are other things indicating that the king had full mastery over his reason continuously during his last few years. There are judicial proceedings for almost every year from 1740 to 1749, in each of which the king acted as the head of the court.¹⁸⁶ Similarly, the king personally settled religious and caste disputes during the same years.¹⁸⁷ As for the conduct of the rest of the political affairs, the many volumes of the Selections from the Peshwa and managed without him for a few month.¹⁸⁸ In 1748 he was ready to go in person against Tulaji Angre.¹⁸⁹ And on Nov. 15, 1749, exactly one month before his death, the Nizam's agent waited upon him on account of some political affairs.¹⁹⁰ There is, therefore, no basis for Grant Duff's remark that. Shahu was "for some years in a state of mental imbecility". The worst that had happened was that the King neither had peace of mind nor happiness at home. But he had complete mastery over his reason.

Shahu's illness :

In the early months of 1743 Shahu had a severe illness from which he recovered on May 24.¹⁹¹ During the next six years his health declined and he often fell ill.¹⁹² But whenever he felt better he resumed his duties and went on with his hobbies. As late as in June 1748 he was out on a campaign in the midst of torrential rains and was strong enough to live

184) Grant Duff, History Vol. 2, P. 30

185) Idem

186) For these cases see Valanpatre Nlwadpatre etc. PP. 12-56; Shahu's Diary PP. 155-178.

187) Idem PP. 172-178.

188) Riyasat, Madhya Vibhag Vol. 2, P. 108.

189) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 24, Entry No. 30

190) Idem Vol. 28, Entry No. 30

191) Shahu's Diary No. 30

192) Bharat Varsh, Patre Yadi Entry No. 62.

in a mere "hut thatched with hay" and showed his usual keenness in hunting.¹⁹³ On the first day (Juy 12) the Mohammedan physician applied an ointment, and during the application, the king swooned. Bapuji Bava (?) held him up and gave him some water to drink. After about 10 minutes he (Shahu) vomitted, but it took two hours before he came to his senses. Physicians and soothsayers are called in -- today (July 15) is third day, yet the swelling is not reduced."¹⁹⁴ This illness dragged on for months. He was still confined to his bed on Aug. 31,¹⁹⁵ and on Sept. 5, Brahmin priests were sent to five holy places to perform Anustan (prayers) for his recovery.¹⁹⁶ About Nov. 12, he felt well.¹⁹⁷

Shahu's death :

But the recovery was short lived and Shahu soon suffered a relapse into what proved to be his last illness. On Friday, Dec. 15, 1749, about an hour and a half after sunrise he breathed his last.¹⁹⁸ He knew that his end was approaching. "So, he besmeared his body with holy ash, put a rosary round his neck, and sat himself on a white blanket spread on a seat of grass. He uttered God's name eleven times and expired - at his palace called Rangmahal in Satara."¹⁹⁹ Shahu lived for 67 years, 6 months and 27 days. He reigned for over 41 years and 9 months.

Obsequies :

The obsequies of this singularly religious Maratha king were performed according to Hindu religious practices. His dead body was burnt at Mahuli* and the ashes were sent to Kasi (Banares) at the cost of 10,000 rupees.²⁰⁰ Rs. 45,000 more were spent over for purposes on the day of the funeral.²⁰¹ The Brahmins received sumptuous gifts. Among other things they were given, were land, elephants, horses, cows, cloth and ornaments.²⁰² The articles of personal use of the king were also

193) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 8, Entry No. 63. It is not clear what this campaign was, no details being available.

194) Idem Entry No. 60.

195) Rajwade Vol. 3, Entry No. 350

196) Balaji Bajirao, Diary Vol. 1, PP. 87-88

197) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 25, Entry No. 9

198) Balaji Bajirao's Diary Vol. 1, P. 88.

199) Riyasat, Madhya Vibhag Vol. 2, P. 127

* The meeting place of the river Vena and Krishna, considered sacred by the Hindus.

200) Balaji Bajirao's Diary Vol. 1, P. 90

201) Itihas Sangrah, Peshwe Daftar P. 2

202) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 18, Entry Nos. 184-194.

given away. Among them were a pipe, a stick, a mat, a basin, a tray and a few other things of equally sundry nature²⁰³ No king could have lived a simpler life.

Sakwarbai's "Sati" :

With Shahu's dead body his queen, Sakwarbai, performed "Sati" or burnt herself to ashes. This event has given rise to a very hot controversy. Grant Duff thinks that the Peshwa, Balaji Bajiro insidiously compelled his life long enemy, the queen, to go 'Sati'²⁰⁴ Kincaid asserts that, it was not the Peshwa alone but the whole 'Council' who must be blamed, if blame is to be attached to somebody.²⁰⁵ He does not, however, tell who the 'Council' consisted of and who advised the queen to perform the act. Mr. Sardesai discusses the matter at length with a prepossessed intention to show that the Peshwa is not to be blamed.²⁰⁶ He puts the blame mainly on Tarabai and even insinuated that Shahu himself might have ordered Sakwarbai's 'Sati'.²⁰⁷ This is a very wild guess of the historian and he could as well have refrained from imputing such an act to a king whose respect for human life was his greatest virtue.²⁰⁸ There is, however, no necessity to apportion the blame for Sakwarbai's self-immolation. This practice was not looked upon with horror in those days as it is at present times. It was considered essential for the peace of the husband's departed soul. For all that is known, Sakwarbai as much loved Shahu as he did her. She did nothing surprising in showing her fidelity to her departed husband by performing 'Sati'. At one time, as will be seen hereafter, before the king's death, she wished to live after him and govern the kingdom in the name of a son, whom she intended to adopt with the authority of the King. But Shahu gave her no such authority. Then she vigorously opposed the Peshwa's plans and Grant Duff is wrong in saying that she had "concealed" her "plot".²⁰⁹ She openly sent armies to capture the fort of Satara and other places, and even entered in some political intrigues with the Nizam²¹⁰ (Oct. 1749). But none of her

203) Idem Entry No. 185.

204) History Vol. 2, P. 36

205) History Vol. 2, P. 302, footnote

206) Madhya Vibhag Vol. 2, PP. 160-62.

207) Idem P. 150.

208) Vide Infra.

209) History Vol. 2, P. 34.

210) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 23, Entry No. 28

doings achieved any success, and the Peshwa acquired all the necessary power from the king.²¹¹ She must have realized that her living after Shahu's death would not only incur a moral stigma, but would be a prolonged misery in face of such an enemy as the Peshwa, who had succeeded in grasping all the political power in his own hands. It may be concluded, therefore, that she performed "Sati" willingly. But before she immolated herself, she did a magnanimous act. She gave the ear-rings of the dead king to the Peshwa by way of wishing the latter best luck in his career.²¹²

4. Question of Succession

Turning point in history :

Shahu was succeeded by Ramraja,²¹³ the reputed son of Shivaji II and grandson of Rajaram and Tarabai. Ramraja's succession proved a turning point in the history of the Marathas, primarily because, with that event all the political power passed from the house of Shivaji to that of Balaji Vishvanath. It is not within the scope of these pages to describe how this came to happen. But it is quite relevant to enter into a critical discussion of what happened while Shahu was still alive, and find out whether he was in any way responsible for the events that occurred after his death.

Question of Succession :

The question of succession was an additional source of anxiety to Shahu during his last few years. When his younger wife, Sagunabai, died (1748) the hope - if any hope was cherished up to that time - of

211) Vide Infra

212) The ear-rings were two and were made of gold, 4 pearls and 2 rubies. Balaji Bajirao's Diary Vol. 1, P. 89.

213) Mr. Sardesai says that his real name was Rajaram and that Tarabai changed it to Ramraja because Hindu custom forbade her to utter the name "Rajaram" which was also the name of her husband. (Madhya Vibhag Vol. 2, P. 141). But Tarabai's husband, Rajaram, was also called Ramraja. (See Factory Records MIs. No. 3 A, Fort St. George to Court, Aug. 27, 1689, wherein he is called "Ramraja"). And her grandson was known by both names. On Dec. 26, 1749 the Peshwa met "Ramraja" (Balaji Bajirao's Diary Vol. 1, P. 89). In Jan. 1750 when the new king was crowned, the same Peshwa wrote that, "Ramraja" ascended the throne with usual ceremony. (Itihas Sangrah, April 1909, P. 65). It appears, therefore, that Rajaram and Ramraja have all along been convertible names.

214) In this connection it is interesting to note that the so called saint, Brahmendra Swami was

having a son died too.²¹⁴ Shahu thus found that he had to settle the question of succession in some other way. It appears that there were many ways of doing it. The king could have, for instance, (1) adopted a son; or (2) given the power of adoption to his surviving queen, Sakwarbai, who was trying to secure the reins of government in her own hands; or (3) appointed Sambhaji, the Raja of Kolhapur to succeed him and thus united the kingdoms of Satara and Kolhapur under one rule. But Shahu did none of these things. He merely, as will be seen presently, authorised the Peshwa "to appoint a successor".

Shahu once seriously thought of adopting a son himself. An undated paper in Itihas Sangrah (Peshwe Daftar) records, "Maharaji (Shahu) is showing reluctance and says that he will not adopt".²¹⁵ Tarabai, who was living with the king since 1734, wrote in a letter which is also undated, "The king made preparations to adopt a Gotraja boy (that is to say, a boy from the Bhosale family). ____ Then I advised him, 'there is no necessity for you to adopt a Gotraja boy. God will give you a son. There is no need to be so hasty just yet'. Upon my advice the king did not adopt — and some years have elapsed since".²¹⁶ From this letter it seems that Shahu first thought of adopting a son in or about 1740, but did not do so because he still hoped to have a son of his own. In 1746, as will be seen further on, he was acquainted with the existence of Ramraja, and he gave up the idea of adoption.

Sakwarbai's Plans :

Sakwarbai, Shahu's elder queen, wished the king to allow her to adopt a son and rule the kingdom in his name.²¹⁷ Shahu saw that, as she had no support of the military leaders, she could not succeed in her attempt to establish herself at the head of the kingdom. The only active and principal men on her side were the Pratinidhi, Dadoba, and his deputy, Yamaji Shivdev. Shahu refused to consent to her plans.²¹⁸

playing upon the credulity of that queen by giving her some medicine which would help her to bear a son. See his letter to the queen Parasnis, Brahmendra Swami, No. 260.

215) P. 1

216) Rajwade Vol. 8, No. 169.

217) Chitnis, Thorle Shahu Maharaj PP. 128-29.

218) Idem.

Raja Sambhaji :

Sambhaji II, the Raja of Kolhapur, was Shahu's cousin (uncle's son) and therefore, had every right to succeed Shahu in the absence of a better heir. It is already seen that, after the cousins were reconciled to each other and the Treaty of Varna was made (April 1731), their mutual relations remained very cordial.²¹⁹ According to Chitnis, Shahu thought of leaving the kingdom to Sambhaji, but did not do so because he thought that his cousin was himself old and without a son, and "had no ability to manage the affairs of an united kingdom".²²⁰ These reasons are not convincing. It appears that towards his end, Shahu seriously thought of making Sambhaji his successor, but the Peshwa compelled the dying king to desist from doing so.²²¹

Peshwa's Plans :

Sardesai asserts that the Peshwa had no plans of his own in the matter of appointing Shahu's successor.²²² There are many self-contradictions in the elaborate case made out by the historian in favour of the Peshwa, which it is not necessary to point out. Enough material is available to prove what plans the Peshwa had at that time.

His ambition :

Even when he was quite young, Balaji Bajirao had declared that one day he himself would like to rule the kingdom.²²³ During the nine years when he was Shahu's Peshwa (1740-49), the king treated him merely as one of his officers, and even suspended him from his office for some months (1747). Shahu's death and the absence of an heir to the throne was too good an opportunity for him to slip in the furtherance of his own ambition.²²⁴

219) Vide Supra PP. 99-101.

220) Thorle Shahu Maharaj P. 128

221) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 6, Entry No. 147. Vide infra.

222) Riyasat, Madhya Vibhag Vol. 2, P. 138; The whole chapter (No. 8) is an apology for the Peshwa's actions.

223) Letter of one Amrutrao Shankar to Balaji Bajirao (May 8, 1750) The Peshwa had informed Amrutrao of Shahu's death and his own appointment to conduct the government. In this letter of reply Amrutrao, among other things, wrote, "While your father and uncle were still alive (that is to say, before 1740) you once declared in my presence that one day you would like to rule the kingdom --- And now the very thing has fallen to your lot".

Itihas Sangrah, April 1909, PP. 65-66

224) Now much the Peshwa was restrained in his actions and also dissimulating while Shahu was alive, can be judged from his cousin's letter to him (Sept. 18, 1749 ?). "Let nothing

Intrigue with Sambhaji :

As early as in 1747 the Peshwa was immersed in carrying on intrigues with Sambhaji II. He gave a written pledge to the Raja by which he undertook to see that the latter was appointed successor to Shahu. For this promised help Sambhaji II transferred to the Peshwa, his own claims of tribute on the south eastern states of Savanur, Bidnur and Sonda.²²⁵ The Peshwa accepted the grant but broke his promise. There is no mention of his ever having tried to secure the kingdom of Satara for Sambhaji. On the contrary the Peshwa insisted that Shahu should not leave it to that king.²²⁶ The Peshwa went still further. He kept an army ready to prevent Sambhaji's march on Satara after Shahu's death.²²⁷ Balaji Bajirao never had any good wishes for the kingdom of Kolhapur. On Sambhaji's death he even attempted to conquer it (Jan. 1761).²²⁸ Moreover, the ascension of an aged king like Sambhaji II to the throne of Satara would naturally be a hindrance to the Peshwa scheme of placing a person on the throne who would be under his own control.²²⁹ His intrigues with Sambhaji II in 1747-48 were just a precautionary measure in case Shahu did leave the kingdom to his cousin. The entire responsibility for losing an opportunity to unite the two branches of the Maratha kingdom under the rule of Sambhaji II lies upon the Peshwa.

Story of Ramraja :

All the while, Balaji Bajirao was pursuing another intrigue with the help of Tarabai, who was persuading Shahu to believe that Ramraja was a true prince and an eligible heir to the throne. The story of Ramraja's

Induce you" wrote the cousin "to act contrary to what has been hitherto professed, or let anything appear respecting your intentions; but in the event of the Raja's decease, you must take the upper hand of all. Whilst the Raja is in existence, do not allow so much as a grain of oil seed to appear different to your conduct —"

Grant Duff History Vol. 2, P. 33, Footnote

225) Letter of Jijabai, Sambhaji's queen, to the Peshwa (Dec. 11, 1748). Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 6, Entry Nos. 1, 3; Vol. 8, Entry No. 64.

226) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 6, Entry No. 147. This is a very important paper as it shows for the first time that it was the Peshwa who persuaded Shahu not to leave the Kingdom to Sambhaji II.

227) Idem Vol. 26, Entry No. 35.

228) Rhyasat, Madhya Vibhag Vol. 4, P. 133.

229) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 6 contains numerous papers which show that the Peshwa's principle object in placing Ramraja on the throne was that he would be able to rule over the young king. See Entry Nos. 59, 62, 80, 87, 91 etc.

early life is strange. According to his own account,²³⁰ and the one given by Tarabai,²³¹ he was the son of Shivaji II. He was born about 1726 at the fort of Panhala where his father, mother (Parvatibai), step-mother (Bhavanibai) and his father, mother (Tarabai) were all kept in civil prison by Sambhaji II, his uncle and ruler of Kolhapur. Fearing some danger to the life of Ramraja at the hands of Sambhaji and Jijabai (the latter's queen) the prince while yet a child, was clandestinely removed to Bavada.* He was brought up there until about 1745, when his residence became known to Jijabai. The prince was then removed to Pangao† where he remained until Shahu's death.

About 1745 Tarabai acquainted Shahu with the existence of Ramraja, and probably also pressed the king to appoint the prince his successor. Therefore, Shahu, made secret inquiries about the prince and was given to understand that such a person was existing at that time (Jan. 1745).²³² It appears that the king provisionally fixed upon Ramraja as his heir,²³³ though there is no conclusive evidence to show what he actually did. It was upon Tarabai's request that Shahu favoured this arrangement, but the Peshwa was all along in the intrigue. Towards his end, Shahu vacillated and perhaps seriously thought of leaving the kingdom to Sambhaji II.²³⁴ The Peshwa then implored Tarabai to intervene and exert all her influence on the king (Aug. 19, 1749).²³⁵ Indeed, the Peshwa and his associate Govindrao Chitnis, who was in the king's confidence, were playing a more active part in these court intrigues than Tarabai did. That is why these two officers became bitter enemies of Sakwarbai, whose desire to adopt a son was defeated on account of the success of their plans. The queen therefore importuned Shahu to make Sambhaji II his successor;²³⁶ sent armies to capture the fort of Satara and surrounding places;²³⁷ entered into some negotiations with

230) See Ramraja's order of March 1, 1750, whereby he appointed Bhavantrao Amatya. *Itihas Sangrah*, Peshwe Daftar P. 33-35.

231) See Tarabai's letter, *Ramraja* Vol. 8, Entry No. 169.

232) Shahu's order, Jan. 26, 1745. *Rajwade* Vol. 8, Entry No. 171.

* About 88m. S. Satara

† About 110m. E. Satara

233) Chitnis, *Thorie Shahu Maharaj* P. 123.

234) *Sel. Pesh. Daf.* Vol. 6, Entry No. 147.

235) Peshwa's letter, *Rajwade* Vol. 3, Entry No. 127.

236) *Sel. Pesh. Daf.* Vol. 6, Entry No. 147.

237) *Idem* Vol. 28, Entry No. 28. (*Sel. Pesh. Daf.*)

the Nizam, Nasarjand;²³⁸ and according to Chitnis, even plotted against the lives of the Peshwa and Govindrao.²³⁹ But the queen failed in everything she did, and the Peshwa reaped the full benefit of his strong position as an army leader.

Shahu's "Will" :

Balaji Bajirao left Poona on Aug. 15, 1749 and reached Satara (Shahunagar) on the 27th. He remained in the capital till Shahu's death.²⁴⁰ The dying king wrote two "letters"²⁴¹ in his own hand, whereby he directed the Peshwa "to appoint a successor" and "to protect the Kingdom". As these letters are important documents it is necessary to give their full translation.

Letter No. 1

"To Balaji Pradhan Pandit -

We order that you should command the forces we gave (similar)* orders to all (other generals) but they were not destined (to hold such a post). We are ill and know that we will not recover. The government must be carried on. Therefore, appoint a successor, but none from (our relatives at) Kolhapur. We have told everything to Chitnis (Govindrao). Do accordingly. Whoever be our successor, be obedient to him and maintain (the dignity of) the Court. Chitnis has ever been faithful to us. You two should think out how best you can preserve the kingdom. Our successor will not interfere with your post".

Letter No. 2

"To Balaji Pandit Pradhan.

We are confident that you can carry on the government. This confidence we had already expressed, but it is now made stronger by (the assurances of the) Chitnis.²⁴² Our blessings rest on you ! Our successor will continue you in your office of Pradhan. We solemnly

238) Idem.

239) Thorle Shahu Maharaj P. 131.

240) Balaji Bajirao's Diary Vol. 2. The Peshwa's halts, P. 244.

241) A photograph of the original letters was produced in Itihas Sangrah, Nov. - Dec. 1915; in Riyasat, Madhya Vibhag Vol. 2, also the photograph is given. Mr. Kincaid has translated both in his History Vol. 2, P. 319 (Appendix B). But the translation is neither literal nor accurate.

* Words within bracket are mine.

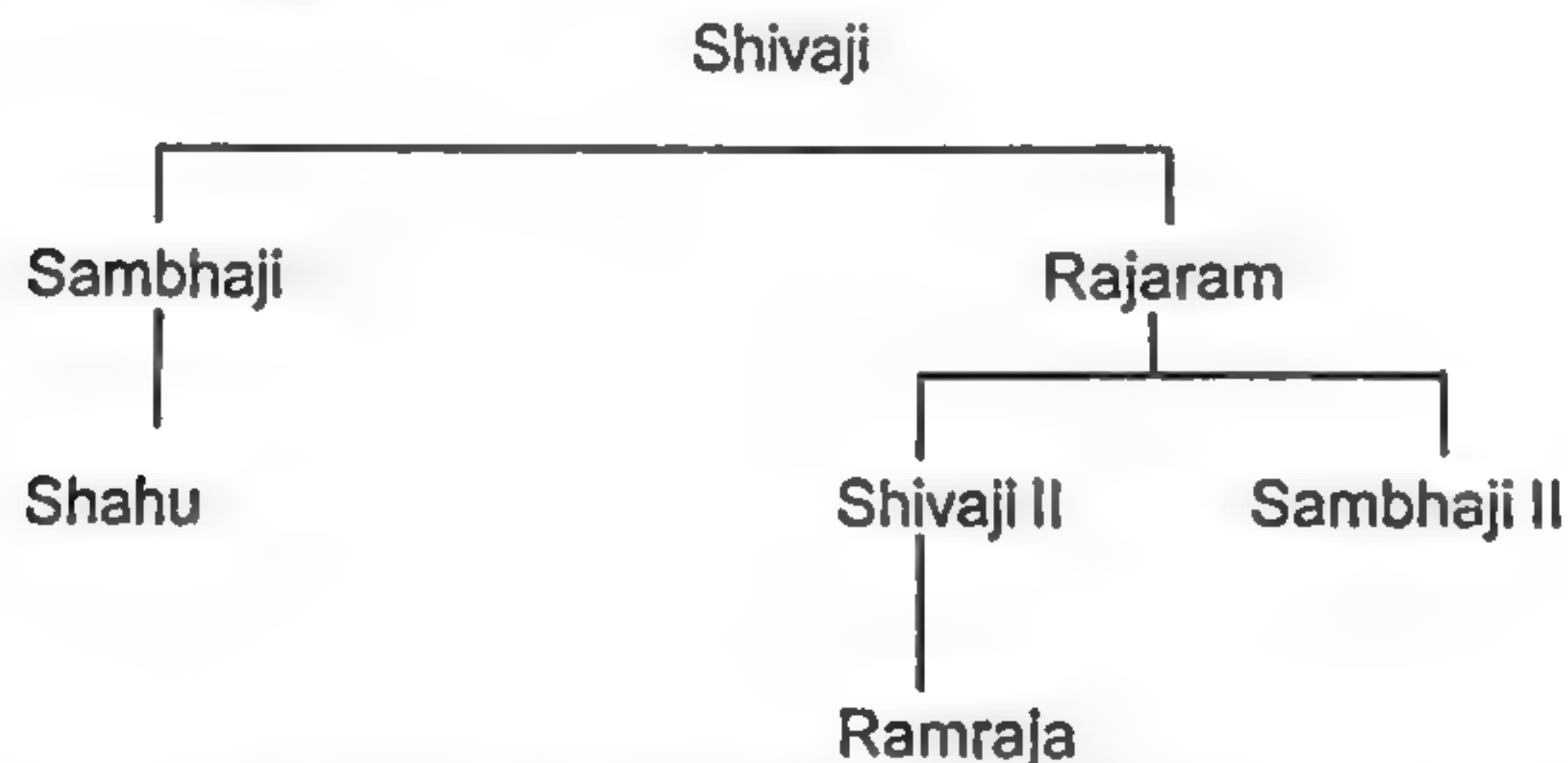
242) Mr. Kincaid has translated this sentence as, "The Chitnis, as I have already told you, is of proven loyalty". This is wrong. It was not the loyalty of the Chitnis that was questioned:

charge him not to do otherwise. Be obedient and loyal to him and protect the kingdom. Nothing more need be said".

Criticism :

Shahu made a very imperfect arrangement in respect of succession. Firstly, he named nobody as his heir. Until his death it was believed that he had chosen Ramraja and even intended to bring him to Satara.²⁴³ But in neither Letter is Ramraja's name mentioned. The king asked the Peshwa to consult the Chitnis whom he had "told everything". But what that "everything" was, there are no reliable means of finding out. Whether Ramraja was a legitimate prince has always been doubtful.²⁴⁴ Probably Shahu had some such doubts in his mind and, therefore, did not specifically name him as his successor.²⁴⁵ The responsibility of bringing Ramraja to the throne rests primarily on the shoulders of the Peshwa.

Secondly, Shahu expressly ordered that no one from the "Kolhapur Branch" should succeed him. This exclusion raises questions of grave importance. There is ground to believe that Shahu "disinherited" Sambhaji on the Peshwa's request,²⁴⁶ but if Shahu had meant to exclude his cousin only as is supposed by some,²⁴⁷ he could have done so by mentioning his name. He cut off, however, the whole "Kolhapur branch" from being entitled to succeed him.



it was that of the Peshwa. It is obvious that, after Shahu wrote his Letter No. 1, some suspicion of the Peshwa's intentions were raised and the Chitnis assured the king on this score. (See Peshwa's letter to Chitnis, Bharat Varsh, Patre Yadi No. 57). Mr. Kincald has missed the essential point by misunderstanding this important sentence.

243) *Iluhas Sangrah*, April 1909, P. 65.

244) *Vide Infra*.

245) *Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 6*, Entry No. 147.

246) *Iidem*

As will be seen by the accompanying genealogical table, the only direct descendants of Shivaji, living at the time of Shahu's death, were Sambhaji II and Ramraja. Both of these were representatives of the "Kolhapur branch"; for, it was Shivaji II and his mother-regent Tarabai who established the kingdom of Kolhapur. Sambhaji II deposed him and seated himself on its throne. Ramraja - if he was a true prince was the son of Shivaji II, and was born and brought up within the jurisdiction of the kingdom of Kolhapur. Shahu's exclusion, therefore, of the "Kolhapur Branch" applied as much to Ramraja as to Sambhaji II. This means that the Peshwa contravened Shahu's orders by placing Ramraja on the throne. If he thought that Shahu's restrictions on the choice of a successor were not binding, then Sambhaji II had a better title than Ramraja, because he was related to the deceased in a nearer degree. Moreover, if Shahu intended to disinherit Sambhaji II alone, whether he could do so by giving a general authority to the Peshwa to appoint any successor, is doubtful from the legal and constitutional points of view.

Peshwa's influence :

The Peshwa's hold on the dying king is apparent in the two "Letters". He insisted that Shahu should give those letters written in his own hand.²⁴⁷ As for their contents, whether the words were the king's own or dictated by the Peshwa or his agent, the Chitnis, is not known. The Peshwa and the Chitnis were great friends and there was some secret understanding between them.²⁴⁸ The Peshwa was however the strong man of the day and had a large military following. Shahu saw that he alone would quell the general confusion that would ensue after his own death. So he looked upon him as "the Protector of the Kingdom" and made him commander-in-chief of all forces, gave him the sole authority to appoint any successor, and pledged for the new king that the Peshwa's position would not be interfered with.

Shahu was the most "constitutional" among the Maratha kings, and encouraged the Ashta Pradhan system. It would have been more in accordance with his practices, if he had appointed not the Peshwa alone but all the Pradhans as a body to look after the Kingdom. The reference in Letter No. 1 to the inability of other generals to command

247) See Riyasat, Madhya Vibhag Vol. 2, P. 129

248) Chitnis, Thore Shahu Maharaj PP. 130-31.

249) See Bharat Varsh, Patre Yadi Entry Nos. 57-59.

armies is not very intelligible. This shows that Shahu first attempted to leave the kingdom in the hands of the collective body of his "generals" (or ministers, because all ministers were generals at that time), but the mutual dissensions among the latter made such a course impossible; and the Peshwa, who was the strongest among them was chosen as the repository of the king's confidence and authority.

Ramraja's accession :

Ramraja ascended the throne on Jan. 4, 1750.²⁵⁰ What happened soon after, is succinctly described by the Viceroy of Goa in his letter to the Court of Portugal (Oct. 1754). "He (Ramraja) is the successor" wrote the Viceroy "of Xau (Shahu) Raja who died without heirs, and the said Ramraja, until then unknown being brought up without distinction in the lands of the Mogul,* was brought forward and placed upon the throne after the death of the said Xau by the princess Tarabai who lived in the Court of Sarara (Satara), being the aunt of the said Xau and greatly esteemed by him as many report; she affirming the posthumous child of one of Xau's cousins which many doubt to this day. But the great authority of the said Tarabai confirmed (Ramraja) on the throne is in spite of the opposition she encountered.. Ramraja is little supported or assisted by his ministers who have withdrawn each to his territory, awaiting the result of the opposition shown to him by Nana (the Peshwa), the chief and most powerful minister who even dared to besiege him in the Court and sacked it obliging him to withdraw to the fortress, situated on a high and impregnable mountain wherein he is shut almost without power and authority of which he is deprived by the excessive power of Nana and his own doubtful birth".²⁵¹

Thus did the Peshwa carry out Shahu's order to be "obedient and loyal" to the new king.

5. Shahu's Character

Various traits of Shahu's character have been already referred to in describing his private and public life. It is now proposed to add some

250) Itihas Sangrah, Peshwa Daftar P. 2.

* Pangaon was at that time within the Mughal dominion.

251) MSS, Portuguese Records, Translations, Conhelho Ultramarinho Vol. 1, Pt. 1.

more important points and to mention in particular the king's shortcomings.

Shahu's greatness :

Mr. Kincaid says that "greatness cannot be claimed for Shahu".²⁵² Mr. Sardesai is of the opinion that, next to Shivaji, Shahu was the greatest king of the Marathas.²⁵³ The single fact that Shahu was at the head of an expanding kingdom for over 41 years, during which time the Maratha power was not only firmly established in the home country but was extended in almost every other part of India, would show the king's greatness. Shivaji founded the kingdom; Sambhaji nearly lost it; Rajaram fled from it and could ill defend it from a distance; and Shivaji II and Tarabai did not have time so much to save it as to save themselves from the all-powerful enemy, Aurangzeb. When Shahu ascended the throne in 1708, as Mr. Kincaid acknowledges, he did not have more than a strip of land round the Satara fort to rule. In Sept. 1741, however the Viceroy of Goa wrote to the Court of Portugal, "To-day nearly the whole of Hindostan belongs to the said Maratha Sou Raja".²⁵⁴ It can truly be said that before the king died, "the house of Shivaji attained the plenitude of its power".

In 1708, moreover, the Maratha kingdom was in a thoroughly disorganised condition. 24 years of continuous warfare (1683-1707) with Aurangzeb's overwhelming forces, had produced anarchy everywhere in the Maratha country. Only a really national sentiment preserved Shivaji's kingdom in name, but the central authority was very weak. During Shahu's long reign this authority was not exerted as rigorously as it would and should have been, nor were the king's efforts at consolidating the increasing kingdom at all adequate. Nevertheless Shahu succeeded in reducing the anarchy and re-establishing an ordered government everywhere in the country.

Finally, in order to realise what a strong personality Shahu was, it is necessary to see what happened after his death. The kingdom became literally sundered into pieces and though Shivaji's descendant was allowed to sit on the throne, the government was a sort of a

252) History Vol. 2, P. 304.

253) Riyasat. Madhya Vibhag Vol. 2, P. 168

254) IASS, Portuguese Records, Translations "Conhehço Ultramarino" Vol. 1, Pt. 1

confederacy of the military chiefs whose one common motive was to become each an independent ruler. No doubt the seed of these separationist tendencies was sown long before Shahu's times by the adoption of the practice of assigning particular districts to particular generals as their emoluments.²⁵⁵ Still, the king was strong enough to exert his authority in one way or another over all his men. Indeed, he was the last Maratha king who ruled as well as governed the kingdom of Satara.

These considerations alone force one to endorse Mr. Sardesai's opinion that, next to Shivaji, Shahu was the greatest king of the Marathas.

A peace - loving king :

Mere military glories was not all that Shahu attempted to achieve. He was a peace-loving king too. In fact he preferred peace to war and could ill bear the loss of human life on the battlefield. Capt. Gordon, who was in the king's camp in June 1739 wrote. "Advices came also from Dilly (Delhi) that Nadir Shaw disposed to march against the Morattas (Marathas), on which the Rajah (Shahu) with much vehemence plucked off his Turbant* - being a mark of great concern - saying, will Bassein and all our new acquisitions make amends for 22,000 men lost there".²⁵⁶

During Shahu's times fighting was the one profession of every able-bodied man and was, the chief instrument of settling inter-state differences. Shahu himself proved his claim to his grandfather's throne on a battle field and was involved in almost continual warfare during his long reign. But he was perhaps the only person in his kingdom who cherished such human sentiments and so much abhorred any loss of life. His reluctance to lead armies in person, his insistence that his generals should not indulge in needless hostilities, his acceptance of even a subordinate status to the Mughal emperor, his willingness to partition his own kingdom with his cousin Sambhaji II, and his steadfast observance of treaties when others used to break them, all such actions proceeded from the value he put on human life, and therefore on peace.

255) This point is dealt with at length in the next chapter.

256) Bom. Pub. Con. Range 341, Vol. 10, P. 297 sqq. The reference of the loss of 22,000 men was to the Maratha war with the portuguese during 1737-39.

* Head - dress.

Conciliatory Policy :

Even in internal government, the king preferred conciliation to chastisement of refractory servants and always acted as a mediator when a dispute arose among themselves. The case of the Senapati, Yashwantrao Dabhade furnished as good instance of the king's conciliatory methods. Notwithstanding his repeated orders, the Senapati had neither gone to Satara to see him nor sent revenues. Shahu waited for two years. His patience was exhausted. Still he wrote to his Peshwa, Bajirao on May 28, 1734, "On your way back call upon the Senapati, and give him some good counsel You know how much we like him and esteem his services. If he has forgotten that, then, tell him the same in kind words and persuade him to come with you. In case your efforts are unsuccessful and he chooses not to come.... then it becomes absolutely necessary to correct this insubordinate servant in a proper way.²⁵⁷ This was generally the policy of the king, but his officers did not always appreciate his kind ways. In those times, force was the proper means of exercising authority.

A mediator :

The secret of Shahu's successful reign was his ability to maintain a harmonious relation between his quarrelsome Sardars. The allotment of a province to each general and the conquest of new territories, necessarily gave rise to mutual jealousies and even hostilities, among his officers. It was, as will be shortly seen, a serious failure of the king that he did not undertake regular military expeditions. But he directed his commanders, controlled their actions, and kept them within their fields. If they disagreed among themselves he generally succeeded in reconciling them before they came to blows. On April 18, 1727 he divided the Saranjam Watan between the two Bhosales, Kanhoji and Ranoji "after reconciling them to each other"²⁵⁸ On Nov. 4, 1734 he "revived the broken friendship" between the Peshwa and the Senapati;²⁵⁹ and in 1743-44 he induced Balaji Bajirao and Ranoji to enter into an important agreement in respect of the latter's new acquisitions in Bengal, Behar and Orissa.²⁶⁰

257) Sol. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 12, Entry No. 65.

258) Shahu's Diary PP. 80-81

259) Idem P. 48

260) Bharat Varsh, Patra Yadi Entry No. 48 sqq.

The political history of Shahu's reign makes it perfectly plain that, but for Shahu's sagacity in maintaining a balance of power and cordial relations among his generals, there would have been chaos everytime in his kingdom.

Man of his word :

Finally, one small but in no way negligible virtue of the king may be mentioned. He was a man of his word. The Europeans had come to believe that the "Sevajeos" or Marathas were a "false people"²⁶¹ and "perfidious" was the one word by which they described them.²⁶² It is, therefore, the more creditable to the king that he never broke his word, even if it was given to an enemy. Thus, in April 1738, when he was engaged in a war against the troublesome chief. Udaji Chavan, negotiations for peace were opened and the latter went to confer with the king at Satara. The negotiations failed and Udaji wished to depart. As a private Diary describes it, "Shahu had pledged his word. So he sent men to provide for Udaji's safety and to escort him up to Tasgao.* It is, however, believed that the king will proceed to conquer the latter's strongholds.²⁶³ Chitnis mentions a similar incident when, another turbulent chief, Damaji Thorat, waited upon the king under similar circumstances.²⁶⁴ It was not only on political occasions, but even in everyday life, that Shahu acted up to his word. Once one Shamraj, who had to make a large payment in kind to Sambhaji II, suffered loss in his grain stores, Shahu promised him that he would persuade Sambhaji II to excuse the payment. On Shahu's request, his cousin excused only one half of the dues. Then the king, "In order to keep his word of mouth", paid Shamraj in cash for the other half.²⁶⁵ Seldom are kings so true to their word.

Other qualities :

Other qualities of the king may be briefly mentioned. He showed

261) Court General to Bombay, March 17, 1699. Letter Book Entry No. 10, P. 160.

262) See Bombay to Surat, Jan. 1, 1703; Factory Records, Bombay No. 17 See also Court General to Bombay, March 13, 1744, wherein the Court of Directors asked their servants at Bombay "to cultivate a permanent Friendship" with the Marathas, but always to beware of their "Treachery and Deceit".

263) Sol. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 26, P. 130.

264) Thorle Shahu Maharaj P. 30

265) Sol. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30 Entry No. 291.

* About 55m. S. E. Satara.

almost infallible judgement of human nature, and chose the right men. Once chosen and given appointments, he put implicit faith in their sense of duty. He did not interfere with their work unless and until they went wrong; nor did he meddle with their private affairs.²⁶⁶ He was sincere, generous, God-fearing and painstaking. Mr. Kincaid is wrong in saying that "indolence" marred his reputation.²⁶⁷ Though he did not regularly go on a battlefield - if that is what Mr. Kincaid intended to suggest - the study of his private and public life reveals that he usually spent a busy day. He was, moreover, so sympathetic and took such an interest in the welfare of others that he lived as much for others as he did for himself. The best tribute paid to his name was by his Peshwa, Balaji Bajirao, who said that "no king could have been so great a support of the needy as Shahu was".²⁶⁸

Shortcomings :

Shahu had many shortcomings. Firstly, as a king he had no great ambition. He refused to take the place of Muhammad Shah, the emperor of Delhi, when the Maratha arms could have easily removed the latter from the throne. In May 1739 Bajirao wrote to his brother Chimnaji of his having come to learn that "Shahu did not wish to be the emperor, but would rather like to see the Delhi - empire protected" by the Marathas.²⁶⁹ Shahu never forgot that he was saved and brought up by the emperor Aurangzeb. Moreover he had promised the emperor to defend the empire from external enemies.²⁷⁰ He, therefore, must have thought it a perfidious act to cherish any design of himself becoming an emperor. Even apart from such an ambition he never liked his generals to commit wanton inroads in the Mughal territories.²⁷¹ Though he sent armies in all directions he did not wish to send them in the north "lest they would besiege Delhi".²⁷² The result was that Shahu's policy in this respect remained mainly defensive and his conscientious nature prevented him from adding a greater glory to his crown. The expansion of the Maratha kingdom during

266) See his advice about Mastani, Bajirao's Muhammedan mistress. Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 72 This quality of the king is remarkable in as much as an eastern monarch rarely made any distinction between the private and public affairs of his servants.

267) History Vol. 2 P. 304.

268) Vide Infra.

269) Parasnis, Brahmendra Swami, P. 119.

270) Shahu's own words. Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 30, Entry No. 222.

271) Idem Vol. 17, Entry No. 47

272) Idem.

his reign was the work of his generals who were under no obligations to the emperor.

Secondly, he did not lead armies on the battle-field. He was not an unworthy soldier, but there is no proof of his having been a good general. Even if this was the case, if he had undertaken regular campaigns and traversed the whole country from one end to the other, not only would his authority have been greater, but he would have achieved more. It appears that he was not unaware of this deficiency in him. About Oct. 1735 he wrote to the Peshwa, "Angre's men besieging the fort of Golcote* have gone away. Consequently the siege is discontinued. This will create a bad impression on the minds of the public. We, therefore, will have to go in person (to conduct the siege)".²⁷³ But there is no mention of his having undertaken the siege. Though he undertook personal campaigns, they were all of a minor nature. It was a great mistake of the king that he left all the military work to his generals, while he could have undertaken, at least now and then.

Thirdly, it was his method to persuade rather than force his servants to obey his orders. His were paper commands, though he was not always averse to the use of force. Thus, in Jan. 1735, he wrote in his own hand to Rahuji Bhosale "We repeatedly ordered you to remit the dues. But you have been negligent and dilatory. This will not do -- You must immediately remit money. Otherwise we shall have to do something which will not be at all pleasant to you. Take heed and act accordingly".²⁷⁴ After eight months Shahu again wrote in his own hand to the same Sardar. "We ordered you more than four times to come to see us, but you have not come. This is really surprising. It is proper for a servant to obey his master's orders."²⁷⁵ Such paper-commands, unaccompanied as they were with a readiness to punish the delinquent servant, often encouraged delay, if not defiance. The king was, however, generally obeyed, because he was more respected than feared. But he would have gained more in authority if he had tried rather to force than persuade his servants to obey his orders.

273) *Idem* Vol. 33, Entry No. 324.

274) Shahu's diary P: 81.

275) *Idem* P. 82

* A fort then in the Sidi's possession.

Fourthly, his continuance of the practice of assigning revenues of particular districts to particular officers in lieu of settled payments, produced permanent evils.²⁷⁶

Finally, to group other defects together. Shahu was of a conservative nature and did not like "to break with the past".²⁷⁷ His mind was too soft for a king and his actions never rigorous.²⁷⁸ He was excessively generous and the religious and other grants he made robbed the exchequer of a large portion of yearly revenues. He depended too much on his servants, who were not always actuated by motives of loyalty. In short, he lacked some essential qualities as a ruler, but the eminent virtues he possessed as a man enabled him to carry on the government of an extensive kingdom.

6. Contemporary Opinion

It may not be out of place to add a few contemporary opinions about Shahu.

1. In Oct. 1730 an envoy was sent from Delhi to Shahu's court to get first hand information about the king and his ministers. After visiting Shahu's court, the envoy had an interview with the Nizam, and the following is a part of a dialogue between the two.

The Nizam "What do you think of the king (Shahu) himself?"

The envoy "The king also is a great diplomat".

The Nizam "But we hear some improper things (about him)"

The envoy "If the king has no entertainments, what good is the kingdom ? All the same, the king is sober, wise and thoughtful. He converses in the best style".²⁷⁹

2. The Viceroy of Goa to the Court of Portugal on Sept. 20, 1741 (n.s.)

276) Vide Infra, Chapter 8.

277) Riyasat, Madhya Vihang Vol. 2, P. 171

278) Idem

279) SFI. Pesh. DAI, Vol. 10, Entry No. 66

"This prince (Shahu) who never placed himself at the head of his army except once to besiege a small stronghold, which he won, is so feared that he meets with no opposition even from the Mogul—".²⁸⁰

3. On Feb. 22, 1750, Shyamrao Yadav, the Peshwa's newswriter wrote from the camp of Muzaffarjang* near Tanjere.

"Muzaffarjang learnt about Shahu's death and felt sorry. He said that Sahhu was 'the Great Nizam-ul-mulk' in the Maratha Kingdom and that there will be no king like him in future....."

Then the writer, Shyamrao added his own opinion.

"There will be no king like Chhatrapati (Shahu). He governed the kingdom efficiently and had no enemy born to him (अजातशत्रु)".²⁸¹

4. The Peshwa Balaji Bajiao said about Shahu (1730).

"No king could have been so great a support of the needy as Shahu was".²⁸²

5. Amrntao Shankar, one of the commanders of the Peshwa wrote on May 8, 1750.

"The late king (Shahu) was an Avatari (incarnation of God) - a virtuous man. He conquered the whole country"²⁸³

6. J. Rannell, the famous topographer (1788).

"Shahu inherited the ability and vigour of mind of his immediate ancestors ---".²⁸⁴

7. John Bruce, the E. I. Co's historiographer (1810).

Shahu was a "Prince whose talents and wisdom were equal to those of his predecessors, Sevajee and Sambhajee".²⁸⁵

280) MSS. Portuguese Records, Translations, Conselho Ultramarinho Vol. 1, Pt. 1.

* Nizam-ul-mulk's daughter's son.

281) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol. 28, Entry No. 59.

282) Itihas Sangrah, April 1970, P. 65

283) Idem

284) Memoirs of a A map of Hindostan Introduction, LXXXII.

285) Annals of the Hon E. I. Co. Chapter 3, P. 648.

Chapter 8

Some aspects of Shahu's administrative system

Shahu's reign made a distinct contribution :

A good account of the administrative system of the Marathas is still a desideratum. As to Shahu's period, not a single line has been yet written upon this subject. In his bulky book Dr. Sen has devoted about twenty-five pages to the description of what he calls "A Period of Transition", that is to say, the transition of the power from the Rajas of Satara to the Bhat Peshwas.¹ In these pages he has made a passing reference to Shahu's times and one or two bold remarks regarding the king, which are both gratuitous and wrong.² Dr. Sen has taken for granted that, with the commencement of Shahu's reign, the centre of study of the Maratha history is not the king but the Bhat Peshwas. Incongruously enough he says that Shahu "ruled as well as reigned";³ but he has taken no trouble to substantiate his own statement. He has nothing to say regarding the King's contribution to the growth of Maratha power and policies. For that matter, he has said practically nothing about Shahu's Peshwas themselves.

Shahu's reign is a glorious period in the history of the natives. It was the longest of reigns of the Maratha kings and was, from the beginning to the end, crowded with political and other events. A close study of this period gives a clear idea of the working of Shahu's administrative system. The following few pages will, I hope, make it clear that Shahu's reign was not a void in the history of Maratha administration. On the country, so much can be written on this subject that I had to deal with some aspects of the administration only. I have, however, tried to

1) Administrative System of the Marathas PP. 183-208.

2) He says that "the king lost his reason more than once" (P. 199), that he was a "weak old man, never used to exertion and industry" (Idem), and that he "had no issues of his own" (P. 203). These statements are quite wrong (see Chapt. 7 *supra*) and need no refutation.

3) Idem P.200.

acquit myself by adding a few general remarks on connected topics.

1. The Kingdom

“Swarajya” and “Mogalai” :

The kingdom over which Shahu ruled was called “Swarajya” in contradistinction to the dominions of the Mughal emperor, which were called “Mogalai”. According to Grant Duff, Swarajya consisted of “the districts possessed by Sevajee at the time of his death”.⁴ This description does not appear to be correct. From 1683 to 1707 Aurangzib’s armies overran the Maratha country and a greater part of Shivaji’s lands fell into the emperor’s hands. Yet in 1703 all that country was known as Swarajya. There are Shahu’s own words to prove this. When he left the Mughal camp (April 1707) and arrived in the home country, he described his advent in different words.

In an order of Dec. 24, 1707 he said, “We came back into Swadesh”⁵ (our own country); in another order of March 10, 1708 he observed, “We came into Swarajya”⁶ (our own sovereignty); in a different order of March 14, 1708 he remarked, “We came into Dakshan Prant”⁷ (the southern country of the Deccan); and in yet another order of about the same date he explained, “We came from Mogalai into Swarajya”.⁸

The names “Swarajya”, “Swadesh” and “Dakshan Prant” may not have been used as exact synonyms. Nevertheless the quotations make it perfectly plain that, even at the beginning of Shahu’s reign, the Maratha kingdom was called Swarajya there is further evidence to show that Grant Duff’s explanation of this term is inaccurate. Whenever a new conquest was made by Shahu or his generals, the acquisition became part of the “Swarajya”. Thus when the king defeated the Mughal commandant of Miraj* in 1739 and took that place, the event was described in these words; “The king conquered the fort of Miraj which, therefore, has become Swarajya”.⁹ When Tulaji Angre disposed the Sidiş of their fort of Anjanvel in Jan, 1745. “A thorn from the flesh of

4) History Vol.1, P.373.

5) Purandhare Daftar Vol.1, P.167.

6) Ilihas Sangrah, Peshwe Daftar P.10.

7) Idem P.11.

8) Idem P.119.

9) Ilihas Sangrah, Peshwe Daftar P.116.

* About 80m. S.E. Satara.

Swarajya is removed".¹⁰ In Dec. 1748 Jijabai, the queen of Sambhaji II, described the whole Maratha kingdom as Swarajya.¹¹ That was, therefore, the name of Shahu's kingdom.

As revenue terms :

Here it may as well be mentioned that Swarajya and Mogalai were not only political but also revenue terms. In a Sanad, which Shahu issued in March 1723, granting one Chavar* of land to a Brahman, he exempted him from paying, among other dues, "Swarajya and Mogalai".¹² In 1727, a Watandar was ordered to pay Rs.700 as "Swarajya and Mogalai", before his Watan was restored to him.¹³ Numerous other orders of the king are extant, which show that the two terms had a fixed significance as revenue collections.¹⁴ But the exact nature of the dues levied under these names is not known. It is, however, apparent that they represented the aggregate of exactions made under Swarajya or Maratha government, and under Mogalai or Mughal government.

2. The King

"The constitution of the Maratha Government" wrote a contemporary observer "is despotic".¹⁵ The Maratha king would, in that case, be called a despot. Was Shahu a despot?

Shahu's idea of "Limited monarchy" :

The Marathas, it may be presumed, did not bother themselves with theories of government. There is however a unique declaration of King Shahu himself, which sheds light on his position in the machinery of administration. In April 1746 Bapuji Naik, one of the King's generals, importuned him to decide the question of his own debt and next commission. Shahu appointed a committee of officers to inquire into Bapuji's case. After some deliberations among themselves, the committee desired to know the King's pleasure. To their application the

10) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.24, Entry No.27.

11) Idem vol.6, Entry No.2.

12) Itihas Sangrah, Peshwe Daftar P.116.

13) Idem P.18.

14) See Idem PP.19,20,23,30; Shahu's Diary P.46.

* Measure of land.

15) Br. Mu. Add. Mss. 29. 209, Vol.1.

king answered, "Formerly all power was centered in my hands. Now I am a king in name. You, my officers, are really at the head of the government. If you all be of one mind, the kingdom will surely flourish. Under such circumstances, if I were to insist upon my own pleasure, how can it do? You, my highest dignitaries, have assembled here. Certainly you should be able to solve this problem (of Bapuji Naik)..... You are at perfect liberty to grant the commission to him or not to grant. Decide what you think best".¹⁶ On another occasion the king was asked to send a diplomatic agent to the Nizam. "I shall indeed send one" replied the king "but not until I have consulted all (the councillors) and taken their opinion."¹⁷

Such suggestions that the king was incapable of coming to any decision by himself or managing his affairs without the constant aid of his officers are groundless. Shahu was known for his determination, and rarely anybody dared to cross his will, even in small matters.¹⁸ The well-known case of the suspension of the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao, so late as in 1747, proves that Shahu did not depend upon even his best ministers, as it is often supposed.

The only inference to be drawn from the words of the two quotations given above - and their verity is not to be questioned - is that Shahu voluntarily delegated his power to his ministers, councillors and officers. He imposed restrictions upon his own authority, because he believed that the united control of the government by a collective body would be in the best interest of his kingdom. This implication is supposed by other acts of the king. It is already mentioned that Shahu held regular Darbars or Council meetings, where free discussions took place and questions of policy were decided. The king moreover was a skilled mediator and preserved as far as he could, a good harmony between ministers. He never interfered with the work of his officers or throw any arbitrary impediments in their way. When he was on his deathbed, he wished to

16) A letter from Satara dated April 4, 1746, by one Mahipant Prahlad, who heard the king's speech, Sol. Pesh. Daf. Vol.28, Entry No.2. The date of the letter as suggested by the editor is wrong.

17) Letter to the Peshwa from his deputy at Satara, written about Oct.11, 1736. Sol.Pesh. Daf. Vol.10, Entry No.100.

18) See two different cases demonstrating the king's determination in Sol. Pesh. Daf. Vol.8, Entry No.44; Idem Vol.33, Entry No.250. In the latter case he persisted in advocating his own opinion about the best men, who should be enlisted in the Infantry.

leave the government in the hands of a body of State officers and sent for them. They did not come forth and the Peshwa was authorized to manage the affairs. These facts are borne out by unimpeachable evidence supplied by the letters and other documents of his times.

Can it be, therefore, that Shahu was, consciously or unconsciously, attempting to establish a form of government, which in modern terms would be called "limited monarchy"? Of course, such an attempt - if one was made - was bound to fail. Mutual jealousy, hatred and enmity had created many factions at the court; and mean selfishness had driven every officer, high or low, to place the welfare of the kingdom below his own. In a way the king himself was responsible for such a state of affairs, because he did not use enough force to correct his delinquent servants. Possibly he was influenced by his own idea of government and gave them freedom, which they perverted to their own advantage.

King's powers :

As part of routine duties the king made appointments of all officers,¹⁹ fixed their pay and exercised control over their official acts.²⁰ He was the head of the civil, criminal and ecclesiastical courts,²¹ and personally administered justice.²² He issued commissions to his generals empowering them to collect the customary dues from particular parts of tributary or enemy's countries. For the grant of this authority the generals had to pay a stipulated sum of money to the king.²³ J. Briggs, who had studied original papers at the court of Satara, adds "I find that the movements of troops, preparations for war, the favourable results of battles and campaigns, were regularly reported to the Raja. Honours were granted by him and the succession to the great hereditary offices and estates received confirmation from the presence alone".²⁴

19) Shahu's Diary mentions the appointments of the major officers and Sel. Pesh. Daf. - particularly Vol.30 - mentions other appointments, their pay ect.

20) See Shahu's Diary P.6. which is a letter on the Pashwa and other generals, reprimanded them for the failure of their duties.

21) Shahu's; Diary PP.215-25; Valanpatra Niwadpatra Vagaire.

22) Rajwade Vol.20, Entry ;No.44.

23) This point will be presently elaborated.

24) Selections of the Records of the Bombay Government No.XII (New Series) P.29.

3. Ashta-Pradhans

The king was assisted by a body of ministers who are known as Ashta-Pradhans. There were frequent transfers, removals and new appointments of these high officers during Shahu's reign -particularly in the early part of it. The following list of all the ministers, who held office during that reign, is based on various sources.²⁵ The date, if one is given, is that of appointment.

1) The Peshwa (Chief Minister)

- 1) Bahirrao Moreshwar (1708)
- 2) Balaji Vishvanath (Nov. 17, 1713)
- 3) Bajirao Ballal (April 18, 1720)
- 4) Balaji Bajirao (June 25, 1740)

2) The Pratinidhi (Vicegerent)

- 1) Gadadhar Prahlad (1708)
- 2) Naro Prahlad (Oct. 31, 1711)
- 3) Parashuram Trimbak (Nov. 22, 1712)
- 4) Shrinivas Parashuram (Jan. 16, 1717)
- 5) Jagajivan Parashuram (June 24, 1747)

3) The Senapati (War Minister)

- 1) Dhanaji Jadhav (March 1708)
- 2) Chandrasen Jadhav (About Aug. 1708)
- 3) Santaji Jadhav (Aug. 15, 1711)
- 4) Mansing More (Aug. 22, 1715)
- 5) Khanderao Dabhade (Jan. 11, 1717)
- 6) Trimbakrao Dabhade (Jan. 8, 1730)
- 7) Yashwantrao Dabhade (July 2, 1731)

25) Shahu's Diary, Itihas Sangrah, Peshwa Daftar; Sol. Pesh. Daf.

4) The Amatya (Finance Minister)

- 1) Amburno Hanamanto (1708)
- 2) Parashram Trimbak (Dec. 24, 1710)
- 3) Balkrishna Vasudeo (Nov. 22, 1712)
- 4) Bhagavantrao Ramchandra (Aug. 3, 1728)
- 5) Balkrishna Vasudeo (April 16, 1731)
- 6) Mahadaji Gadadhar (Sept. 29, 1734)

5) The Sachiv (Auditor General and Accountant)

- 1) Naro Shankar (1708)
- 2) Chimnaji Narayan (July 8, 1736)

6) The Sumant (Foreign Secretary)

- 1) Mahadaji Gadadhar (1709)
- 2) Anandrao Raghunath (Jan. 9, 1724)
- 3) Mahipaji Anandrao (Feb. 6, 1744)

7) The Mantri (Head of the Private department)

- 1) Ramchandra Trimbak (1708)
- 2) Naro Ram (Oct. 1716)
- 3) Ghanasham Narayan (July 24, 1750)

8) The Nyayadhish (Chief Justice)

- 1) Sakho Vithal
- 2) None Anant
- 3) Kashiraj Anant (1726)

9) The Panditrao (Head of the ecclesiastical department)

- 1) Mudgal Bhat (1708)
- 2) Mahadaji Gadadhar (Dec. 3, 1709)
- 3) Mudgal Bhat (1711)
- 4) Ragho Mudgal (April 3, 1728)
- 5) Dhondo Padhye
- 6) Haibatrao

Two opposite tendencies :

This list reveals two opposite tendencies. On the one hand it shows that even these high offices came to be looked upon as hereditary possessions of their incumbents. In most of the cases the post was held by a person during his life time, and after his death his personal heir was appointed to that post. The natural consequence was that even minors and otherwise incompetent persons were allowed to held high offices. Thus in 1708 Naro Gandekar, the minor son of the deceased Shankar Gandekar, was made Sachiv. In April 1731 Senapati Trimbakrao Dabhade was killed and his brother Yeshvantrao was appointed to his post, even when it was a common knowledge that Yeshvantrao was not a man of ability. But continuance of an office in one family was not Shahu's innovation. The practice was long prevalent. The King's fault lay in his sufferance of the posts being sometimes encumbered by incompetent persons.

On the other hand it will be noticed that Shahu did not always restrict his choice to one family only. In 1713 he discarded the services of a member of the reputed Pingale family and appointed Balaji Vishvanath to the post of Peshwai. Even greater changes will be found in the case of the Senapatis. From 1708 to 1715 the Jadhavs held that office; from 1715 to 1717, a person from the More family was appointed to the same; and from 1717 onwards it became vested in the Dabhade family. Similar changes can be noticed in the cases of other Pradhans.

The meaning of these opposite tendencies is that the hereditary principle was generally preferred, but that Shahu did not allow himself to be governed entirely by that practice and made changes whenever he thought that a change was necessary.

Declining offices .:

The duties and powers of these Pradhans were laid down by Shivaji in 1674.²⁶ Whatever the founder of the kingdom may have expected from this new system of government, it did not prove vigorous in actual working. Its success entirely depended upon the personal competence of the ruler and each one of the ministers. Want of energy - and much more of ability - in any Pradhan, naturally made his importance less and

26) See Sands and letters .122 sqq; Kavyelihas Sangrah Entry No.2; Itihas Aitihāsik, Vividha Vritts, Part 1. P.21, and Part 3, P.25.

the post decayed. Every minister, moreover, was expected to be a good general, before he was qualified to discharge other duties pertaining to his office. During Shahu's reign all ministers, except the Bhat Peshwas, were outshone in every respect by such outsiders as Raghuji Bhosale, Pilaji Jadhav, the Holkars, the Shindes, the Pawars, the Gaikwars, the Kadambs and a whole host of other leaders of armies. In an expanding kingdom Maratha generals and statesmen had to deal with problems which Shivaji did not have to face; and his system of Ashta-Pradhans gave way.

4. The Saranjam System

At this place it will be better to describe the Saranjam system which was at the basis of all the branches of Shahu's government. In simplest terms a Saranjam was a village, district, or even a province that was granted to a military leader for meeting his expenses and maintaining the dignity of his post. A Saranjam was yet another form of the prevalent institute of Watan. A Watan was a hereditary landed property or the rights appurtenant to a hereditary office respecting such property. There were Watandars. Those whose position in the administration was of some importance were the Patil (Headman of a village), Kulkarni (Chief accountant of a village), Deshmukh (head of a district consisting of villages), Deshpande (accountant of such a district), Sardeshmukh (head of a division consisting of a number of districts), Sardeshpande (the accountant of such a division) and similar hereditary offices.

Shahu's Kingdom an aggregate of Watandars :

Shahu's kingdom was an aggregate of Watandars. The King was a Watandar and his officers and most of his men were Watandars. Shahu was not even seated on the throne when he claimed that he was the Deshmukh of Karhad.²⁷ After his enthronement he took pride in calling himself the Deshmukh of Wai* and had a special seal cast, in which he adopted a plough as his symbol.²⁸ Similarly he was the Patil of Devulgao²⁹

27) Rajwade Vol.15, Entry No.59. Karhad is about 32m. S. Satara.

* About 24m. N. Satara.

28) Rajwade Vol.20, Entry No.43.

and Deshmukh of Indapur;³⁰ and he asserted that he was the Sardeshmukh of Hyderabad.³¹ Over and above these Watans, certain parts of the kingdom were marked as Khasagi. (personal)³²

The Watans granted by the king to his officers were numerous. On Aug. 21, 1711 he assigned to Balaji Vishvanath a Saranjam yielding an yearly revenue of Rs. 2,510,200.³³ On Aug. 9, 1719 the same Peshwa received part-revenues of some districts in Berar.³⁴ On May 12, 1720 the king bestowed 12 villages upon Bajirao.³⁵ On April 2, 1728 he conferred upon the same officer further privileges concerning the district of Poona.³⁶ On Aug. 16, 1740 the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao received a grant of 30 villages.³⁷ Similar Watans were given to other Pradhans and officers from time to time.³⁸

The purpose of these grants was political. The order issued in favour of Balaji Vishvanath on Aug. 21, 1711 runs thus; "Balaji Vishvanath Sanakarte has been ordered to recruit soldiers. By way of providing for his expenses we assign this Saranjam" etc. The grant made to Balaji Bajirao on Aug. 16, 1740 reads, "By virtue of certain Sanads, Bajirao Pandit Pradhan possessed certain villages. He has died. His son, Balaji Bajirao Pandit Pradhan, is hereby authorized to hold those villages in lieu of his salary". These orders represent the nature of the Watans that were given to the officers.

The Centre of the Saranjam System :

The centre of the Saranjam system however lay elsewhere. Not only parts of the kingdom, over which Shahu actually ruled, were thus placed under the personal control of the Pradhans and other officers, but place to which Shahu had no right, and over which his way was not yet extended, were given away in the same manner. Thus on Jan. 24, 1717, Shahu issued two Sanads in favour of Kanhoji Bhosale, authorizing

29) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.31, Entry No.177.

30) Idem Entry No.120.

31) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.30. Entry No.360.

32) For names of the s Shahu's Diary PP.36.

33) Idem Entry No.101.

34) Shahu's Diary Entry No.104.

35) Idem Entry No.102.

36) Idem Entry No.106.

37) Idem Entry No.114.

38) See Idem PP.54-85 Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vols.7 & 30 Itihas Sangrah, Peshwe Daftar.

him to collect the revenues from the provinces of Hyderabad, Malwa and Gujarat. Part of these revenues, Kanhoji was to appropriate to himself.³⁹ On Nov. 7, 1719 Khanderao Dabhade and his son Trimbakrao received similar Sanads for the provinces of Berar, Khandesh, Daulatabad, and even the Portuguese province of Daman.⁴⁰ The days on which these orders were made, the Maratha king had no right to receive the revenues of the above mentioned districts. That was the secret of the rapid extension of the Maratha power.

Merits of the system :

A Maratha's love of his Watan was excessive. He would run any risk to earn and maintain it. Shahu exploited this predilection to the fullest extent. He made copious grants of lands in the home country and issued commissions in respect of territories which did not belong to him. His enterprising generals undertook bold campaigns; his spirited armies invaded distant provinces. A new conquest meant a new acquisition to the general. Even a common soldier, who did real service to the king, would reap reward in the form of a Watan, and if he died while fighting, his heir would be entitled to what he himself might have obtained. "Vithoji Shirke has" says an order of the king "captured the fort of Mahipatgad. He scaled its wall at great personal danger. We are therefore pleased to give him an Inam of the lands" etc.⁴¹ "Your father, Kanhoji Pasalkar, was" says another order "killed in the siege of the fort of Vishalgad. He died in our service. We therefore have thought it proper to make the following grants to you".⁴² The number of such Sanads is prodigious. The substance of them is the same. The leader of an army and each one of his soldiers felt sure of personal gains in a successful expedition. It was not so much the feeling of patriotism, nor even a sense of duty of the king, that moved those Marathas. It was the passion for Watans that made them march through the length and breadth of the country.

Demerits of the system :

The Saranjam system did help in extending far and wide the boundaries of the native kingdom. But this achievement was made at

39) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.30. Entry Nos. 17A, 17B.

40) Idem Entry No.340.

41) Itihas Sangra, Peshwe Dufgar P.119.

42) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.31. Entry No. 131.

a heavy cost. The division of the territory into small parcels necessarily weakened the central authority of the king. Such powerful generals as the Peshwas began to appoint their own officers to govern the country they conquered, and the king was led to acquiesce in such proceedings. Thus, when the Portuguese province of the north was subdued in 1739, the Peshwa Bajirao was allowed to keep it under his own management, as a Saranjam. Capt. Gordon, in the diary of his embassy to Satara in that year, writes, "17th (June 1739). The Rajah sent for the man who attended me up; enquiring if I had any more to offer and observed my saying, 'We (i.e. the English at Bombay) were a good and peaceable people desirous of commerce, molested none in the exercise of their religion and that preserving our friendship would highly contribute to the prosperity of the late Conquests; but said he, 'That will be of small utility to me, as I have assigned the whole to Bajeerow.'⁴³ Furthermore, it may be observed that the treaty between the Peshwa and the governor of Bombay (July 12, 1739) does not mention even the name of King Shahu.⁴⁴ These events led the gentlemen at Bombay to believe that the Peshwa had become the virtual ruler of the country. This inference was wrong. Shahu did not cease to be the real ruler nor was the Peshwa the only Saranjam holder. The Pratinidhi held his Saranjam in the Konkan, the Sachiv in the up-country, the Bhosales in Berar, the Kolkars and Shindes in Malwa, and the Dabhades, Kadams and Gaikwars in Gujarat. Minor chiefs were in possession of other parts.

In course of time these Saranjam-holders became themselves rulers. They were more servants of the king during Shahu's reign, but with the accession of Ramraja a weak prince of doubtful origin - they became free of the central control. Then came into existence what is known as the Maratha Confederacy. It was a loose confederacy between chief and chief, none of whom was as much interested in the existence of the kingdom as a whole, as he was in that of his own portion. This was the ultimate consequence of the Saranjam system.

43) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol.10. P.207 sqq.

44) Idem PP.200-05.

* Shahu's illegitimate son.

♦ The king own army. For further explanation. Vide infra.

5. "Invading Commissions"

Closely connected with the principle of Saranjam system was the practice of issuing what may be called "invading commissions". After the Hindu festival of Dasara was over, every year Maratha armies used to set out from their home country to make incursions into or invasions of their enemy's territories. A general could not lead his army into any particular province until and unless he received Shahu's commission, authorizing him to go against that province. For this privilege the general agreed to pay a stipulated sum of money into the King's treasury and departed. By virtue of his commission he appropriated to himself all the exaction he made in that expedition. He had of course to pay his soldiers and equip himself with the military stores. But it does not appear that he gave any account of his gains to the king.

Nothing will better demonstrate the truth of these statements than a letter written from the King's court at Satara on June 5, 1745. The substance of the letter is as follows: "Regarding the expedition into the Karnatak, the agents of Raghoji Bhosale offered in all 17 lakhs of rupees, if the king would issue a commission in Raghoji's name for that province. When Fattesing Bhosale came to know that the Karnatak would be assigned to Raghoji, he offered 20 lakhs if he would get the commission. The king was inclined to accept the second offer, but Fattesing could not get any money lenders to guarantee the payment. Upon this the king said, "The terms offered by either general are of no good. Let Fattesing bawa, Raghoji bawa, Yesaji* and part of the Huarat* army go on the expedition. Whatever amount is collected they will divide among themselves."⁴⁵ A glance at the "halts" of the Peshwas, in Balaji Bajirao's Diary (Vol. 2), will show that these officers invariably waited upon Shahu, before proceeding on their annual marches. The necessity of seeing the king was the same as mentioned above.

6. Revenue System

The revenues of Shahu's State were twofold, internal and external. The internal revenues were those that were collected within the country over which Shahu actually ruled. The external revenues were those that

45) Letter to Sadashiv Bhau, Purandare Daftar Vol.1, Entry No.155.

were collected from territories, which belonged to other States, but which were under the power of the Maratha king. By degrees, and as the Marathas understood "invasions" and "conquests" instead of more "incursions", the external revenues became internal.

Internal Revenues :

An important memorandum,⁴⁶ prepared about Dec. 1708, enumerates the heads and rates of revenue assessment, fixed in the four successive reigns - of Shivaji, Sambhaji, Rajaram and Shahu. According to this list the sources of revenues at the beginning of Shahu's reign - which were the same as those of Shivaji - were land, houses, courtyards, grain-stores* and yarn*. Besides, there were such items as marriage cess, trading licence, and a duty on cattle.

Land Revenue :

Land revenue constituted the major part of these collections. For purposes of assessment cultivable land was classified into two divisions : (1) Jirayat, that is to say, land on which crops were raised with the help of rain water, and (2) Bagayat that is to say, land on which crops were raised with the help of the water. This "other water" was either from a canal, in which case the land was called Patasthal (canal-land), or from a well, in which case it was known as Motasthal (well-land). The land was further classified as 1st class, 2nd class and 3rd class, according to the nature of the soil. The crops raised in a year could be as many as three, and the rate of assessment varied according to the number of crops which a land was capable of yielding - the one yielding three crops having to pay the highest rate. In some cases the rate also varied according to the nature of the crop. In each case the assessment was made on a Bigha of land, which was about four hundred square yards. The payment of revenue could be made either in money or in kind.

The rules of assessment, which Shahu made for the district of Wal in 1709-10, throw light on these general principles and supply further information regarding the subject. The rules were mainly as follows :-

46) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.31. Entry No.105. Another document which is Shahu's order for the collection of revenues from the province of Wal (1709-1710), bears out the contents of the memorandum. Itihaa Sangrah, Peshwa Durr PP. 275-77

* As the Marathi words are not clear I am not sure of these meanings, nor have I been able to understand two words in the list.

(1) Rates of assessment :

Patasthal	Per Bigha	4 annas
Land yielding two crops	Per Bigha	4 annas
In other cases,		
first class land	Per Bigha	3 annas
second class land	Per Bigha	2 annas
third class land	Per Bigha	1 anna

- (2) If a land were not cultivated any one year, it should pay three quarters of the ordinary revenue. It should, however, pay the full amount on the following year.
- (3) Waste lands should be developed within the space of four years, after which they should be assessed according to the class they may come up to.
- (4) No other dues should be imposed on a land.⁴⁷

Dues of Watandars :

The amount of land revenue thus collected was exclusive of certain dues, which were the property of the hereditary officers - the Watandars. The dues reserved for them were, Sardeshmukh, 10 p.c.; Sahotra, p.c.; Deshmukh, 5 p.c.; Deshpande, 2½ p.c.; Nadgaudi, 2 p.c.; Desh Chougala, 1¼ p.c.; others, 5 p.c.⁴⁸

Remission and other relief :

Those were troublesome times, however, and land was particularly liable to suffer from continual movements of armies. Shahu took personal interest in relieving the Rayats (cultivators) at such times, by means of remissions or suspensions of payment, and other reliefs. "Owing to the turmoil in the country" runs one of his orders, dated April 1, 1714

47) Itihas Sangrah, Peshwe Daftar PP.275-277. Then follow the details of Imposts which unauthorized persons levied on the lands, but which the king did away with.

48) these rates of emoluments of the hereditary officers based as they are on an original memorandum - throw great doubt on what Grant Duff has said about them (History Vol.1, PP.576-77). As for the historian's assertion that the system was "projected" by Balaji Vishvanath in 1719, this memorandum and other documents prove that it was in existence before the Peshwa had a chance to do anything in the matter.

"unauthorized persons are collecting what revenues they like. Many cultivators have been so much harassed that they have left the villages and settled in other countries. The few who are still, remaining may run away any time, and the district will be desolate. Hence, we order etc." Then follow the detailed arrangements of relief.⁴⁹

Customs :

During Shahu's long reign other sources of revenue must have been developed, but there is not sufficient material to ascertain them. On Jan. 14, 1712, Bombay advised the Company that the merchants had to pay "so much on or-load passing through" the country of "Sow Rajah".⁵⁰

External revenues :

The external revenues consisted of the twin dues, Chouthai and Sardeshmukhi.

Origin of Chouthai :

It is not within the scope of these pages to discuss the origin of these dues, but as Dr. Sen has emphatically asserted that Chouthai had a non-Maratha origin, it may be permissible to make one or two remarks regarding this subject. He says that since 1579 the Portuguese government used to pay a "Chauth" to the ancestors of the present Chief of Dharampur. Furthermore, he believes that Shivaji somehow came to know of the existence of such a payment by one State to another, and imitated the arrangement.⁵¹

Dr. Sen's contention is open to many objections. Two of them will be mentioned here. Firstly, "Chouth" and "Chouthai" are pure Marathi words meaning "one fourth" and are not used in the political sense only. Thus an order of Shivaji II, dated April 16, 1701, says that, in a village which is given in Inam to a temple, the cultivators of the lands of the village should pay the full revenue, while the Patil should pay only one fourth (Chouthai).⁵² On Nov. 14, 1730 Shahu reprimanded his two

49) Itihas Sangrah, Peshwa Daftar, PP.277-79. The details are minute and exact, one of them explaining what the position of the hands should be when corn (in payment of land revenue) was to be measured.

50) Bombay Letters Received Vol.1.

51) Military System PP.28-38.

52) Altiharik Sankirn Sahitya Vol.1, Entry No.1. The editor especially mentions that the order is original.

generals, Fattesting Bhosale and Davalji Somavanchi, in these words: "If you will extort any money from the people, you will be liable to pay into the government treasury, one fourth (Chouthai) of what you will seize".⁵³ On March 5, 1745 the king wrote to one Baburao Sadashiv, who had committed ravages in Sambhaji II's dominion, "We have agreed that you should give (Sambhaji II) one fourth (Chouthai) the amount of money you have collected, and one half the number of horses and elephants you have seized."⁵⁴ But it is not necessary to multiply instances for showing that, in Marathi, "Chouthai" was always used in its ordinary sense of one fourth. It may therefore be presumed that Shivaji had no necessity to borrow the notion of Chouthai, when he could imbibe it from his mother-tongue.

Secondly, Chouthai in its political meaning, viz. "one fourth part of the revenues of a district, province or State", had also a Maratha origin. This is proved by an important document. It is a Sanad of the Sultan of Bedar and is dated Nov. 11, 1426. The Sultan informed the assembly of his nobles, "The petty chief on the bank of the Bhima River has rebelled and remitted no dues. We declare to all our nobles and generals that one who will put down Raja Bateriao (the rebel) and establish order in the country, will receive the rights of Choutbai and Deshmukhi".⁵⁵ Furthermore, the Adil Shah governor of the province of Wai issued an order to him under officer on Nov. 12, 1669, forbidding him from collecting "Chouthai" from the village of Nimb. "The village" he said "is given away as a religious Inam, and is exempted from paying Chouthai."⁵⁶

Such orders as these make it clear that the custom of collecting Chouthai tributes by privileged persons, was prevalent in the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan. As the word Chouthai is Marathi, it can be reasonably supposed that, when the Muslim rulers adopted the practice of granting the dues, it was already current in the Maratha country.

The nature of Chouthai and Sardeshmukhi arrangements during Shahu's reign, is made clear by two Sanads⁵⁷ of Feb. 20, 1727.

53) Shahu's Diary Entry No.184.

54) Idem Entry No.180.

55) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.31. Entry No.1.

56) Rajwade Vol.15. Entry No.122.

57) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.15. Entry No.86. This is an important paper as it contains a resume of many grants made to Shahu's and his Peshwas. Some other items in the entry refer to the Chouthai and Sardeahmukhi grants of other ———

Nature of Chouthai arrangements :

These were granted by Sarbuland Khan, the Viceroy of Gujarat, to King Shahu. One was for Chouthai and the other for Sardeshmukhi tributes of the province.

With regard to the Chouthai Sanad the Viceroy issued orders to all the officers and inhabitants of the province saying, "Upon the request of Bajirao, and having realized the necessity of maintaining peace and order in the country and removing disturbances, the Chouthai of the Subha has been conferred on King Shahu, as a Saranjam for the upkeep of 2500 soldiers. Do not fail to pay one fourth of the revenues to the Kamavisdars of the king. The Kamavisdars should look to the interests of the cultivators and try to increase the cultivation of lands. They should not make any further demands. That should stay in the province with the above mentioned body of soldiers and serve the State. They should employ two or three agents in each district, for purposes of collecting Chouthai, and be guided by the advice of the (Mughal) government officers. If any one of them should violate these rules, he should be removed from his post (by King Shahu). And if any one of our officers commits a wrong, the matter should be reported to us. We shall punish him".

Nature of Sardeshmukhi arrangements :

The other order of the Viceroy, addressed to the same officers and inhabitants, said, "The Sardeshmukhi of the Subha is given to Shahu Raje, on condition that he pays a fine (Najar) of 413,080 rupees and 13 annas. The Kamavisdars of the King (i.e. Shahu) should pay this sum and collect the Sardeshmukhi of the province at the stipulated rate of 10 p.c. They should make no further demands. The king should keep a strong army in the service of the (Mughal) emperor, preserve order, and put down revolts (in the province). If any theft is committed anywhere (in the province), the King's servants should find thief, punish him and return the stolen goods to the owner. They should assist the government officers in collecting the revenues".

Remarks :

These Sanads speak for themselves.⁵⁸ It will be noticed that the manner of the two grants is different. Sardeshmukhi is conferred as a favour; Chouth as an acknowledgment of one's own submission. In reality there was no such difference. Only force obliged the Mughal officers to grant one as well as the other, and adhere to the terms of both. The dues were collected by Shahu's own officers called Kamavisdars, who made permanent quarters in the tributary province.

The "Civil List" :

The revenues of the State were not pooled together. The Saranjam-holders collected and retained in their own hands the dues of the places under their control. The king was paid a fixed annual sum, and he had some other sources of revenue.⁵⁹ The collected items formed what can be called the "Civil List" of the king. Its amount varied from time to time, as his receipts were neither regular nor exact. J. Briggs has given a translation of an original Marathi memorandum,⁶⁰ showing the king's income in 1749. It is as follows;

"Amount of cash payable to Highness the Raja of Satara; A. D. 1749.

Payable by Punt Pradan	Rs. 3,20,900
" Punt Prutee Nidhee	1,50,000
" Futtehsing Bhoslay, Babtee Balaghat	33,000
" Ramajee Naik Wakree, Mamlutdar of Waee and Satara, as per separate account	45,000
" Surdeshmooke Purenda, as per separate Statement	16,500
" Appajee Hunmant for the town of Satara	4,700
" Kesurkur, Surdeshmooke of several districts	30,460

58) For similar Sands for the six provinces of the Deccan see, Parasnis, *Treaties, Agreements and Sanads* PP.1-9.

59) See Grant Duff Vol. PP.374-77.

60) Selections of the Records of the Bombay Government No. XII (New Series), P.34.

Nyadish, on account of certain Babtee ----- 13,500

Mahals

Total receipts ----- Rs. 6,14,060

Shahu's Government "Bankrupt" :

There was something essentially wrong with the revenue system of the kingdom. A careful study of the correspondence of the king and his officers compels one to pronounce that the State was "bankrupt". The king lived and died in debt.⁶¹ The Peshwa's position was just the same. Bajirao once wrote, "I am sunk in debt. I wish I was dead. May be I should take poison."⁶² "Do anything" he wrote to his brother on another occasion "and get money to discharge the debt".⁶³ The Senapati was surrounded by Sowkars (money lenders).⁶⁴ Raghuji Bhosale, the able general who invaded the country from Dacca to Trichinopoly, did not sometimes appear in public to avoid meeting his creditors.⁶⁵ Babuji Naik, another general known for his expeditions in the south, attempted to commit suicide, because his debt was swollen to 22 laksh of rupees.⁶⁶ Ranoji Bhosale, the founder of the present Native Gwalior, once wrote to Chimnaji Appa, "I am maintaining my position with the help of borrowed money. How long can I secure loans ? And if I don't, what will be my fate?"⁶⁷

There is no end to this pitiable cry. Not one general was free from these troubles. The condition of the State, the king and officers of which were all in debt, must have been miserable indeed.

7. Army

A faulty organisation :

In theory the Senapati was the head of the Maratha army. In practice there was not one but many armies, commanded by different generals.

61) For some of his huge debt, see Purandare Daftar Vol.1, Entry Nos.214-18.

62) Bajirao to Brahmendra Swami. Life and Letters of Brahmendra Swami, Letter No.30.

63) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.13, Entry No.30.

64) Idem Vol.26, Entry No.32.

65) Idem Vol.20, Entry No.26.

66) Idem Vol.28, Entry No.2.

67) Idem Vol.14, Entry No.33.

Shahu himself had one such army. On July 20, 1726 he wrote, "Two thousand horse and five thousand men are in our constant service for twelve months of a year".⁶⁸ This army was called Hujarat or the "King's own". It was paid and commanded by Shahu in person.

This small body was not of much consequence. The armies that invaded distant lands were commanded by other leaders. It is already mentioned that all the Pradhans were expected to be good generals. In Shahu's reign the first three Bhat Peshwas, the Pratinidhi Shripatrao, the Sachiv Naro Shankar, the Mantri Naro Ram, and all the Senapatis personally lead their armies.⁶⁹ Besides these, there were such generals as Raghuji Bhosale, Fattesing Bhosale and Babuji Naik, who may be described as ministers without portfolios. Every one of these Pradhans and other generals was the master of a huge army. It was not entirely his own. He had several Sardars under him. The Peshwa, for instance, had occurred the services of Pilaji Jadhav, Malharrao Holkar, Ranoji Shinde and Tukoji Pawar, all of whom maintained a body of soldiers of their own.

Each army was distinct and separate. It was under the sole command of the general who maintained it and owed no allegiance to the king, excepting the common allegiance of being his subjects. The king could, of course, order the generals to send their men to any particular part or on any particular expedition. But even then the men obeyed their immediate commandant, who in their turn were responsible to their masters. One headstrong Sardar of the Peshwa Bajirao wrote to him on May 17, 1734. "What have I to do with the king's orders? I shall obey only yours".⁷⁰ In a sense the Sardar was quite right. His master was the Peshwa and not the king.

The system, however, had one merit. The generals being semi-independent, as far as their military strength was concerned, raised strong armies and undertook bold expeditions. But the State would have gained more in stability if all the fighting forces had been under one control

68) Shahu to Kanhoji Angre. Shahu's Diary Entry No.139. It is not clear whether these five thousand men formed the Infantry of the king or were serving him various capacities.

69) Among the numerous Marathi papers, I have found no mention of the movements of the other Pradhans.

70) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.33, Entry No.195.

* In plain words all these high-sounding titles mean commanders of armies.

and management. Shahu made no efforts to coordinate their various parts. He alone, however, is not to be blamed. It was yet another civil consequence of the Sāranjam system.

Military commissions :

Like the Senapati there were some other permanent military officers. They were the Senakarte,* Senakhaskel,* Senasahib-subha, and Sarlashkar.⁷¹ Furthermore, from time to time the king issued commissions conferring military ranks. Thus on Feb. 23, 1711 he appointed Raghunathsing, a Rajput, to the command of seven thousand⁷². On Feb. 21, 1715. Krishnaji Dabhade, the nephew of Khanderao Dabhade, was raised to the command of twelve thousand⁷³. Every new officer had to provide a surety for his good conduct and loyalty. The bond of the surety contained the following understanding. "I stand surely for the newly appointed officer. If he absconds, I will bring him back. In case I fail to get hold of him, I shall answer for him."⁷⁴

Cavalry :

The horse and foot were the main divisions of the Maratha army. "In every part of the country" wrote a contemporary English gentleman who visited the Maratha country "dependent on Mahrattas, are to be found large studs and stables full of horses. The Peshwa has his particular studs in different parts. All the chiefs have theirs in their Jahgirs; most of these have one to two thousand breedings. Good men and good horses are the only endowments of this country"⁷⁵ "A man's whole fortune" said another visitor about a Maratha. "and the assistance he can obtain from the family are expended in the purchase of a horse, which is a certain maintenance to him while it lives. The loss of his horse deprives a man of his fortune by reducing him to the despicable condition of a foot soldier."⁷⁶

71) During Shahu's reign Balaji Vishvanath and Honaji Anant were Senaartes; Khanderao Dabhade, were Senakhaskhels; Parsoji Bhosale, Kanhoji Bhosale and Raghaji Bhosale were Senasahib-subhas; and Davalji Somavanchi was sarlashkar.

72) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.7, Entry No.10.

73) Idem Vol.30, Entry No.17.

74) See Idem Vol.7, Entry No.10.

75) MSS. Ballantyne Collection. India office Library.

76) Br. Mus. Add. Mss.20,200. Vol.1.

Infantry :

The cavalry was indeed the better part of the Maratha army; but the infantry was by no means "despicable." In fact the foot soldiers were greater in number than the horseman. It was a general practice of the former to enlist such men as had their families settled in the native country.⁷⁷ This precaution acted as a check on desertion. The pay of a foot soldier ranged from two to three rupees per month.⁷⁸ He was of course entitled to his share of the spoils. If horseman and foot soldiers jointly took any booty, it was usually divided in the proportion of two to one the horseman having the bigger share.⁷⁹

A mixed Army :

The natives formed the predominant part of a Maratha army. It is interesting to note that, even in Shahu's days, men belonging to other nationalities were taken into service. Those who came from upper India were called "Hindostani;"⁸⁰ those who came from south were known as "Kanade"⁸¹ or Kanarese speaking men. Some of the latter were described as "Karnatakis"⁸² or inhabitants of the Karnatak. Another class was designed as "Paradeshis"⁸³ or foreigners. In particular a Maratha army had a number of Rajput,⁸⁴ Arabs,⁸⁵ Roholas,⁸⁶ Garadis,⁸⁷ Muslims,⁸⁸ and native Christians.⁸⁹ There were some English and Portuguese bombardiers too.⁹⁰

Among the weapons used by these armies were muskets, cannons, bombs, swords, spears, lances, arrows and large stones.⁹¹ Foundries were established at Satara and Poona, where cannons, balls

77) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.1,33, Entry No.254.

78) Idem Vol.34, Entry No.73.

79) Idem Vol.33, Entry No.158.

80) Idem Vol.16, Entry No.81.

81) Idem Entry No.81.

82) Idem Entry No.124.

83) Idem Vol.33, Entry No.115.

84) Idem Vol.7, Entry No.10.

85) Idem Vol.16, Entry No.70.

86) Idem Vol.33, Entry No.133.

87) Idem.

88) Idem Vol.34, Entry No.52.

89) Idem , Entry No.61.

90) Idem Vol.22, Entry No.150; Idem Vol.33, Entry No.424.

91) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.22, Entry Nos.120,121. The two entries give names of over 30 weapons.

and shot were made "with great care."⁹² After the conquest of Salsette another foundry was opened at Thana.⁹³ Oxen, camel and elephants were used for transporting baggage of an army.⁹⁴ On a battlefield the flag was often hoisted upon an elephant.⁹⁵

A Portuguese Viceroy's structure :

In 1754 the Victory of Goa made the following strictures upon the Maratha army. "The troops of the Maratha and other petty kings, which at times are as much spoken of in Asia as in Europe are strong because of the great multitude of which they are composed; but they are in disorder and therefore a body of 7-8,000 trained soldiers would have the advantages over a 100,000 of those armies, who exhibit the same disorder in forming, marching and camping." All this army is divided into three corps, namely cavalry, infantry and armed elephants. The cavalry is composed of a few good and many bad horses with small bodies which they call "quatao" (sic.). The arms used in the cavalry are lances and large swords; the sepoys who are their infantry use "Caitocas" which are long guns which carry much further than our muskets; others are armed with large swords and some with bows and arrows.

"The Maratha armies are always followed by a large body of men called Fakirs who are not soldiers and have no other office than to ravage and plunder the country through which they pass. The elephants which are trained for war and are not frightened by the fire are of great value among the heathens. They are ridden by the princes, generals and other officers. These troops seldom risk themselves in a pitched battle, and avoid it still more if they are to encounter regular troops. Their operations are ambushes, surprises and occupying passes, and when they think themselves safe in their places their fire is vigorous. They have knowledge of any disorders and take formidable advantage of them, which with great astuteness they always contrive not to lose."⁹⁶

92) Vide Supra PP.365-66.

93) Sel. Pesh. Daf, Vol.34, Entry No.175.

94) Idem Entry Nos.95,153.

95) Idem Entry No.95.

96) Mss. ;Portuguese Records. Conselho Ultramarinho Vol.1, Pt.1.

8. NAVY

The Grabs :

The Maratha navy under the command of the Angres consisted of various vessels. Two kinds⁹⁷ of these vessels are well known in the history of the country. They are the Grabs and Callivats, which are respectively English corruptions of the Marathi names 'Curaba' and 'Calabat'. Mr. Grose, who saw those vessels in 1750, describes them minutely. "The Grabs" he says "have generally two masts, though the same have three. Those of three masts are about 300 tonnes burthen; but the others are not more than 150. They are built to draw little water being very broad in proportion to their length, but narrowing from their middle to the end, where instead of bows they have a prow projecting like that of a Mediteranean galley and covered with a strong deck, level with the main deck of the vessel from which it is separated by a bulk-head that terminates the forecastle. As this construction subjects the Grab to pitch violently when sailing against a head-sea, the deck of the Prow is not inclosed with sides as the rest of the vessel but remains bare, that the water which passes on it may pass off without interruption. On the main-deck under the forecastle are mounted two pieces of cannon of nine or twelve pounders which point forewords through port-holes out in the bulk head and fire over the Prow; but the cannon of the broadside are from six to nine pounders."

The Gallivats :

"The Gallivats are" continues Grose "large rowboats built like the Grab but of smaller dimensions, the biggest seldom exceeding 70 tons. They have two masts of which the mizen is slightly made; the main mast bears only one sail which is large and triangular. In general the Gallivats are covered with a spar deck, made of split bambooes, carrying only Petteraroes fixed on swivels in the gunnel of the vessels: but those of a large size have a fixed deck on which they mount six or eight pieces of cannon from two to four pounders. They have forty or fifty stout oars and can be rowed four miles an hour"⁹⁸

97) When reading the Marathi papers one comes across many other names of Maratha Vessels. Prominent among these are Manchua, Sihibar, Taranda and Dingo. (See Set. Pesh. Dal. Vol.3,24,33)

98) Thavels Vol.2, Pp.213-14. Orme has adopted this description in his War of Hindosten Vol.1, PP.408-09.

Superiority of these Vessels :

These apparently odd-looking vessels of the Marathas proved superior to those of others - even of the Europeans of similar dimensions. Firstly, they were very strong. Surat wrote to Bombay on Jan. 27, 1703. "You must take care to furnish both (of your cruising vessels)" with ammunition, Shells and small arms and a sufficient number of Topasses* for that we hear Conajee Angra's (Kanhoji Angre's) Grab is very Strong⁹⁹

In their General Letter to the Company of Jan. 14, 1712 Bombay said that Kanhoji had "six stout Grabs and 50 Galvets"¹⁰⁰

Secondly, these vessels were good "saliers". Indeed it was their capacity to out-sail the vessels of others that rendered them so useful. /So early as March, 11, 1703 Bombay advised Surat, "To give them (i.e. Angre's boats) chase would be of no purpose. They sailing at least 3 foot to the ship's one".¹⁰¹ The Court of Directors had realized this fact when they wrote, "We have it from very good hands that the main reason why our President and Council at Bombay have not had that good success against Angria as the strength of our Grabs and the courage of our people foreboded was that Angria's Grabs were better sailers."¹⁰²

Lastly, these vessels were good "fighters". The Marathas made a very skillful use of their Grabs and Gallivats in overcoming an enemy's ship. "Angria doth" wrote the Company to Fort St. George on Feb. 3, 1720 "so much damage with his grabs; he never attacks defensible ships broadside," but lies at a distance and in calms, and with his Gallevats turns the Grabs as he sees proper; and with his large guns tears the ship in pieces if they will not strike and lies out of reach of all or most of theirs by the help of the Gallevats towing".¹⁰³

Grose enlarges upon the same description as follows : "When the vessel (to be attacked) came in sight of the port or bay where (Angria's)

99) Factory Records, Surat Vol.100.

* Wative Christian soldiers.

100) Bombay Letters Received Vol.1.

101) Factory Records, Bombay Vol.18.

102) Co. to Fort St. George, Feb.6,1722. Letter Book Vol.18. P.132. On another occasion they said, "His (i.e. Angre Grabs as we understand being built for sailing and having several Gallevats to attend and two them off when necessary makes him the more formidable and during". Idem P.278.

103) Letter Book Vol.17. PP.181-82.

fleet was lying, they slipped their cables and put out to sea. If the wind blew, their construction enabled them to sail swiftly; if it was calm the gallivats rowed and towed the grabs. As soon as they came within gunshots of the chance, they generally assembled in her stern, and the grabs attacked her at a distance with their prow guns, Firing first only at the mast and taking aim when the three masts of the vessel just opened altogether at their view. If the chance was dismasted they came nearer and battered her on all sides till she struck; but if the defence was obstinate they sent a number of gallivats with two or three hundred men in each who boarded from all quarters sword in hand".¹⁰⁴

Heavy guns :

From the very beginning Kanhoji Angre took care to equip his vessels with heavy guns. On May 9, 1707 Surat informed Bombay. "The small Guns so much in demand formerly are not of esteem since Canojee Angra with heavy Guns takes ships at such a distance as they can (? cannot) reach him with small ones".¹⁰⁵ "It is the larger Guns" wrote Fort William to the Company on Dec. 6, 1718 "that makes Angria so dangerous".¹⁰⁶ The Grabs carried from 14 to 24 guns each; the Gallivats from 3 to 5.¹⁰⁷

104) This description is borne out by the account of the fight between Sambhaji Angra's vessels and the Derby, the N.I.Co's ship of 470 tons. The fight took place on Dec. 26, 1735 and lasted for ten hours. A minute description of every phase of that fight, as given by the captain, officers and crew of the ship, fills several pages of the book. "A Faithful Narrative of the Capture of the Ship Derby" (1738). One summary account supplied by the captain and his two surviving Mates was as follows; "The 26th of December at Five in the Morning. in 17 Degrees, 50 Momiles Mprtj Latitude, 16 Leagues from Shore, fell inwith 7Five Grabs and Four Gallivats belonging to Angria. They attack'd us by Six o'clock in the Morning. Having so little Wind all Day, that the ship would neither stay nor wear, they took care we should not bring any Guns to bear on them, but what we got out of our Stem-Ports, which we kept close firing. By Eight o'clock, they destroyed most of our Rigging; at ten, carried the Mizern-mast by the Board; at One, shot away the Main-mast and at the same time received two Double-headed Shot between Wind and Water abaft, which we secured. Found two Foot Water in the Hold, and still proved leaky. Soon of they lodged two Duble-headed in the Fore-mast; continue on ;In an Engagement till /Four or Five in the After-noon; then thought it is vain to proceed, so submitted. Sevenmen were killed, Five more had their Legs shot off and many others wounded. There is now of us Prisoners with Angria, 115". Idem PP.47-48.

105) Factory Records, Surat Vol.101.

106) Coast and Bay Abstract Letters Received Vol.2, P.173.

107) Governor Boons from Bombay to the Company. Dec.20, 1718 Bombay Abstract Letters Received Vol.101.

Europeans in service :

A number of Europeans served Kanhoji Angre and his successors as engineers, gunners and bombardiers. Most of them were Portuguese and Dutch.¹⁰⁸ Mr. Downing, who had personal encounters with Kanhoji's fleet, says that the latter used to send Dutchmen "to command the ships and they very often brought in prizes".¹⁰⁹ Some Englishmen too were in the service of the Angres. Thus in Nov. 1736, when the prisoners of the ship Derby were released by Sambhaji Angre, three Englishmen entered his service.¹¹⁰ On May 31, 1746 Capt. Edward Jacob, who with his ship, the Princess Augusta, was taken by Tulaji Angre in January preceding, wrote to the governor of Bombay. "The English Man Thomas Cowper that was with them has entered voluntarily into Angria's Service".¹¹¹

9. Justice

Uniform system :

The judiciary of Shahu's government was on old basis. The lowest court was that of Gram-Panchayat; the highest that of the king and his council. The procedure in all cases was uniform.

The Nyayasabha or Assembly of Justice :

The Nyayadish was the head of the judicial department. But he was not the sole judge. In fact there was rarely a case which was heard and decided by a single judge. From the king down to the lowest officer, both civil and military, every person of note in the government was invested with judicial power. The court which decided a case, always included a number of these officers, but these government officers by themselves did not come to the final decision. Throughout the proceedings the court was assisted by an assembly of prominent men, who were supposed to have had personal knowledge of the case, and

108) History of India Wars, PP.34,136,138-39,142,144,151-152.

109) Idem P.151.

110) Bom. Pub. Con. Vol.8, P.442.

111) Idem Vol.15. Con. Aug.5, 1746.

- * From the place where the Nyayadish's name is put, it would seem that he was not looked upon as any different than other judges.
- * X--- These were Muhammedan officers in King Shahu's service. The dispute was between two Hindus, still the Muhammedan officers sat in judgement.

who were specially invited to attend the court. These men were inhabitants of the place where the cause of action arose. Like the Grand Jury in this country - now abolished - they were witnesses rather than judges of the fact. The whole assembly was called Nyayasabha (the Assembly of justice).

To give an idea as to who sat upon it, the names in one case are given below.

A judicial proceeding was held at Satara on Oct. 6, 1718, when the following persons were included in the court as judges.

1. Mudhalbhat, Panditrao
2. Fattesing Bhosale
3. Shrinivas Parashram, Pratinidhi
4. Balaji Vishvanath, Pradhan
5. Balaji Vasudes, Amatya
6. Naro Shankar, Sachiv
7. Kanhoji Angre, Sarkel
8. Mahadaji Gadadhar, Dabir
9. Sekho Vithal, Nyayadhiah*
10. Naro Prahlad, Chandogyamatya
11. Naro Ram, Waknis
12. Yadav Gopal
13. Konhaji Anant Senakarte
14. Govind Rayaji
15. Anandrao Reghunath
16. Pantaji Shivdao
17. More Marahari, Bakhshi
18. Khande Ballal
19. Shankaraji Malhar
20. Khānderao Dabhade, Senapati

21. Sultanji Nimbalkar, Sarlashkar
22. Mudhoji Naik Nimbalkarss
23. Mansing More
24. Shidoji Nimbalkar
25. Krishnaji Prataprao More
26. Keroji Pawar
27. Deoji Somavanahi
28. Pilaji Jadhav
29. Santaji Kadam
30. Dharmoji Deokante
31. Rustumrao Jadhav
32. Makaji Batakrao
33. Raghoji Kadam, Bende
34. Kaloji Bhosale
35. Shekhamira*
36. Santaji Dhaybhar
37. Miya Shadi*
38. Husain Begji*
39. Nir Anudi*
40. Lal Muhammad*
41. Trimbak Mankeshwar
42. Santaji Pandharo
43. Niroji ;Sonalkar
44. Muhammed Adal*
45. Kanhoji Bhosale
46. Imam Shah Patel*

These were the high and low, and civil and military officers. Then

follow the names of Got men (clan-men) who were summoned to attend the court. Lastly is given the name of the king, who styled himself as the Deshmukh of the district of Wai.¹¹²

Another judicial decision of Aug. 28, 1722 records over 100 names.¹¹³

Law :

Ancient Hindu law was followed in the case of Hindus.¹¹⁴ There is no case recorded to show what law was observed, when the two parties to a suit were followers of other religions. A case between two Muhammedans occurred in 1744. The dispute was in respect of an Inam. The case was tried in exactly the same manner as a case between two Hindus would have been. What is more interesting is the fact that Muhammedan parties were made to undergo the ordeal by which the case was decided - in a Hindu temple.¹¹⁵

Precedent and Custom :

The abstract principle of law was not followed so much as a precedent or an established custom. Former decisions were always quoted and information regarding a custom was obtained from all possible places. Thus in a dispute of Aug. 1747, a decision of the time of Malik Amber (d. 1626) was hunted for, and agents were sent to no less than 27 different district to gather information about a custom that was in dispute.¹¹⁶

Evidence :

Documentary evidence, if available, was always preferred Firmans of old Muhammedan Sultans and orders of previous Marathas kings were generally considered as conclusive evidence.¹¹⁷ As documents were rarely preserved however as the political turmoils in the country made it impossible to preserve them, oral evidence played the greater

112) Vatanpatre Nivadpatre Vagaire PP.74-76.

113) Rajwade Vol.20, No.44.

114) Vatanpatre Nivadpatre Vagire P.10.

115) Idem PP.38-41. There was certainly no Hindu Muhammdan religious question in Shahu's days.

116) Shahu's Disry Entry No.390. Among other places, agents were sent to Bombay.

117) Vatanpatre Nivadpatre Vagaire PP.1-2.

part. In important cases whole villages were called upon to testify to a right or fact.¹¹⁸

Ordeals :

Most cases were generally decided by means of an ordeal. There were many ways of performing an ordeal. The simplest and painless way was to make a party stand in the midst of the supposed holy waters of a river like Krishna and solemnly ask him or her to tell the truth.¹¹⁹ Sometimes the parties were made to sit in a temple, with oil-lamps burning in front of them, for five, eight or even fifteen days at a stretch. One whose lamp would burn continuously without being extinguished, became entitled to the judgement.¹²⁰ The severest ordeal was Agni-divya (fire-ordeal). Balls of red-hot iron were placed on thinly covered palms, and the person was made to walk a few steps holding the ball. One who showed no signs of any hurt, won the case.¹²¹

Judgement :

When proceedings were finished, the decision was declared on the spot. The successful party was given a Nivadpatra (copy of judgement) and orders were sent to the necessary officers of a village, district or province for executing the judgement. The party which failed to prove its case, was generally fined.¹²²

Civil Cases :

The cases which arose during Shahu's reign were mainly civil; and most of these were in respect of lands and Watans.¹²³ The procedure mentioned above, applied especially to civil cases.

Criminal Cases :

No trial of a criminal case is recorded among the many judicial decisions of Shahu's court, which are extant. It may be that crimes were summarily punished. Fines were the usual punishment.¹²⁴ Sometime a

118) See the case in Rajwade Vol.20, Entry No.44.

119) Shahu's Diary P.167.

120) Vatanpatra Nivadpatre Vagalre P.40.

121) Idem contains many cases of this ordeal. See particularly P.51.

122) Vatanpatre Nivadpatre Vagalre PP.7,11,35.

123) The large number of the judicial decisions of Shahu's reign are regarding Lands and Watans. See Shahu's Diary PP.153-96; Vatanpatre Nivadpatre Vagalre.

124) Sci. Pesh. Daf. Vol.30. Entry No.12.

convict was imprisoned¹²⁵ and even chained.¹²⁶ On one occasion a prisoner was beheaded,¹²⁷ but what his offence was is not known.

Caste disputes :

A number of caste disputes arose during Shahu's reign. In Aug. 1721 an interesting question of readmitting a convert into his original caste was raised. A Maratha village officer named Putlaji Mudhoji was taken prisoner by the Mughals at Surat, and forcibly converted to Muhammadanism. Subsequently he escaped and returned to his native village, related the facts to his castemen, and asked for being readmitted into the caste. The question was referred to the Patils and Deshmukhs of 12 villages, who laid the case before the king. Shahu decided that the said officer should be first purified according to the Shastras and then admitted into the caste.¹²⁸ In Oct. 1730 a dispute arose between the Joshis (Brahmin priests) and goldsmiths of the district of Poona, as to who had the right to officiate as priest of the latter caste. It being proved that the goldsmiths had priests belonging to their own caste, Shahu ordered that these priests (and not the Brahmins) should officiate.¹²⁹ In June 1742 one Malhaji Jadhav, a citizen of Ahmadnagar, was ostracized, even though he was a Kunabi (husbandman) by birth. Shahu sent preemptory orders to the headmen of the caste to permit him to enjoy his social privileges.¹³⁰ The strangest case occurred in Aug. 1747. A dispute arose between Kasars (workers in glass bangles), Tambais (workers in copper), Sonars (goldsmiths) and Wanis (traders) regarding a marriage procession. The issues raised were,

(1) does the bridegroom in a Panchal's marriage go in procession through all the streets and Peth (bazaar)

(2) How was the question decided on former occasions of like disputes ?

(3) Is there any record to show the decisions passed in this connection by Malik Amber ?

125) Idem Entry No.14.

126) Idem Entry No.20.

127) Sal. Pesh. Daf. Vol.17, Entry No.122.

128) Shahu's Diary Entry No.373.

129) Idem Entry No.377.

130) Idem Entry No.382.

(4) What is the practice in other districts ?

The Peshwa, the Pratinidhi, the Sachiv and other high officers were ordered to collect the necessary information regarding these issues. The result of the case is not recorded.¹³¹

Such dispute show that even in those days communal troubles did arise.

10. Trade and Commerce

Shahu's interest in opening new channels of trade and commerce is clearly seen in his two orders to his admirals Sambhaji Angre. On Sept. 11, 1734 the king wrote, "Formerly the Arabs used to trade at every port belonging to us. They wish now to carry on the trade at those places, and the Imam of Muskat has sent letters to us by a special messenger. We have granted their request and assigned the port of Rajapur (to them). The Arabs will therefore import their vessels at Rajapur, bringing horses and merchandize. They will sell there and buy new goods at the place. You should assist them in every way, and not molest them on the sea. Similarly, you should help them in transporting their goods."¹³²

The special messenger, who came from the Imam of Muskat, was one Malik Muhammad. At the time the messenger left Satara, Shahu wrote the following letter to Sambhaji Angre, "Malik muhammad, to whom we extended a befitting reception our own agent, Muhammad Sujpat, to Muskat, when they reach your place arrange for their voyage to the port (Muskat)".¹³³

11. Banking

What encouragement Shahu gave to Savakars (bankers) to settle down in his country, and particularly at Satara, will be seen by the "letter of safe conduct" he issued to a merchant banker of Surat. The letter is dated May 11, 1725 and runs as follows :

131) Idem Entry No.390.

132) Shahu's Diary Entry No.261.

133) Idem Entry No.262.

"Letter of safe conduct to Manohardas, citizen of Surat. Your agents, Bavani Shankar and Mahar Mehar Mahamad, waited upon us and told us that you ardently wish to see us and open Savakari (banking house) at Satara. Our policy has always been to encourage Savakars. Hence, this letter of safe conduct is issued to you. Come and see us without hesitation. Make your residence here without any misgivings, and carry on your Savakari business. You will not be molested in the least. We will guard your interest in every way."¹³⁴

12. Status of Maratha ladies

In reading the voluminous correspondence of King Shahu and his officers, one fact arrests attention. It is the high position which the Maratha ladies had come to occupy during the King's reign. They commanded respect in society and played an important part in the political life of their country.

There is no necessity to say much about their social position. Many of them could read and write and all of them participated in the social events of the days.¹³⁵ At home the Marathas always treated the ladies with care, honor and affection. What is worth noting is that these ladies were treated with equally great respect outside their home country. To give an instance, Radhabai, the wife of the first Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath, went on a pilgrimage to Kashi (Banaras) in 1735. The way from Poona to Banaras was long and the pilgrim passed through the territories of many princes. The reception she had at the hands of the Rajput Ranas was worthy of being accorded to a person of eminent social standing.¹³⁶ The Mughal emperor himself sent letters of safe conduct through a special messenger and gave an escort of 1000 soldiers¹³⁷. It is, of course, true that part of the honour Radhabai received was due to the power of the Peshwas. But the really respectful way with which she was greeted everywhere, bespeaks of her own social position.

The influence and achievements of the Maratha ladies in the political field were still greater. Tarabai, the wife of Rajaram and mother of Shivaji

134) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.30, Entry No.358.

135) See Idem Vols. 8,9,18.

136) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.9, Entry No.11,12.

137) Idem Vol.14, Entry No.39.

II, made a permanent name in the history of the country as a queen and as a states woman. Jijabai, the wife of Sambhaji II, proved abler than her husband and even lead armies on battle-fields.¹³⁸ Khafi Khan describes the audacity of a Maratha lady in the early part of Shahu's reign. "A Mahratta woman named Tulsabai" he says "with fifteen of sixteen thousand horse, came demanding payment of the Chauth to the town of Ranwir, seven kos from Burhanpur. Having surrounded the Serai of Ranwir, she sent a message to Mir Ahmad Kahn Subedar demanding payment of eleven lacs (lakhs) of Chauth to save the town." The Subhedar chose to give her a battle in which he was severely wounded.¹³⁹ On Feb. 23, 1732 the English agent at Honavar advised the governor of Bombay that Sagunabai (Shinde ?) had entered the Karnatak Raja's country, "burnt and destroyed five large towns and carried off considerable booty."¹³⁹ Another brave lady of the times was Umabai Dabhade, the wife of the Senapati Khanderao Dabhade. The latter part of her life (1729-1752) was entirely spent in the political affairs of the country. In 1731 her son, Yeshwantrao, was made Senapati. But he was not a man of ability. Umabai therefore undertook the duties of the Senapati and commanded the army. The Diary of the Surat Factory of Feb. 22, 1736 records that on that day a party of her soldiers were attacking that town.¹⁴¹

At one time it was strongly reported that Sambhaji II had decided to confer the robes of Senapati on Umabai herself.¹⁴² Obviously Shahu did not let her leave his service. Yet another lady, who figures greatly in the correspondence of those days, was Laxmibai, the wife of Kanhoji Angre.¹⁴³

It appears that Shahu's able officers had able helpmates.

138) Vide Sunra P.101.

139) Elliot Vol.VII. P.428.

140) Dom. Pub. Con. Vol.7. P.24.

141) F.R. Surat Vol.20. P.62.

142) Sel. Pesh. Daf. Vol.10. Entry No.62.

143) See Idem Vols.3,33.

Some Important Dates of Shahu's reign.

May 18, 1682	Shahu was born.
Oct. 19, 1669	Raigad capitulated to the Mughals; Shahu made their prisoner.
Feb. 20, 1707	Aurangzeb died.
April 18 (?), 1707	Shahu released.
December 1707	Battle of Khed, Shahu wins victory.
March 1708	Satara surrendered to Shahu who then ascends the throne.
June 8, 1708	Battle between Azam Shah and Shah Allam at Jajan; formar killed.
Jan. 3, 1709	Battle between Shah Allam and Kam Bakhan; latter killed. Marathas assist Shah Allam
Feb. 16, 1712	Shah Allam died.
Nov. 17, 1713	Balaji Vishwanath made Peshwa.
Feb. 8, 1714	Kanhoji Angre submits to Shahu and is made admiral of the King.
December 1714	Shivaji II deposed; Sambhaji II becomes King of Kolhapur.
Aug. 26, 1715	Daud Khan, the deputy governor of the Deccan provinces, killed in a battle by Husain Ali.
March 12, 1714	Sambhaji II makes an alliance with the Portuguese against Kanhoji Angre.
February 1718	Treaty between Shahu and Husain Ali.
Feb. 12, 1718	Marathas enter Delhi with Husain Ali.

Feb. 17, 1718	Farrukh Siyar deposed.
March 3, 1718	The Firman of Chouthai granted to Shahu.
March 15, 1718	That of Sardeshmukhi granted to Shahu.
Sept. 17, 1718	Mahammad Shah enthroned.
April 2, 1720	Balaji Vishwnath died.
April 18, 1720	Bajirao made Peshwa.
July 30, 1720	Battle between Alim Ali and Nizam-ul-Mulk. Marathas assist Alim Ali who is killed.
Aug. 9, 1720	Anglo-Portuguese grand alliance against common enemies.
September, 1720	Four English men-of-war reach Bombay.
December, 1720	Anglo-Portuguese attack on Kanhoji with the assistance of the men-of-war. Europeans beat off.
Dec. 6, 1720	Balaji Bajirao born.
Dec. 29, 1720	First treaty the Peshwa and the Portuguese made.
Nov. 17, 1723	Marathas invade the Portuguese province of Bassein
Dec. 30, 1723	Peace between the two parties made.
Sept. 30, 1724	Battle of Sakharkhedle between Hindu-ul-mulk and Mubariz Khan who is killed. Marathas assist the Nizam who now establishes his power in the Deccan.
March 15, 1725	Bajirao marches up to Chitaldroog.
February 1726	The Viceroy of Gujarat agrees to pay

	Chouthai and Sardeshmukhi to Shahu.
March 6, 1727	Bajirao seizes Srirangpatan.
Feb. 25, 1728	Battle of Palkhed between Bajirao and Nizam-ul-mulk who is closely surrounded by the Marathas.
March 6, 1728	Nizam-ul-mulk sued for peace; treaty between him and Bajirao.
Nov. 29 (?)	Chimnaji fights and kills Girdhar Bahadar at Amshera in Malwa.
Dec. 10 (?)	Chimnaji fights and kills Dayabahdar at the same place.
April 1729	Bajirao relieves Chhatrasal, Raja of Bundelkhand, who assigns 1 part of his kingdom to the Peshwa.
June 13, 1728	Kanhoji Angre died.
May 1730	War breaks out between the Marathas and the Portuguese
Feb. 27 1730	First meeting between the cousins, Shahu and Sambhaji II.
April 13, 1731	Treaty of Warna made; Maratha kingdom divided into two parts.
Jan. 30 1732	Treaty between the Portuguese and the Marathas concluded.
June 8, 1733	Marathas invade the Sidi's country.
Aug. 28 1733	They retake Raigad from the Sidis.
Dec. 6 1733	Sakhoji Angre died. English and the Sidis made at Bombay.
Dec. 26, 1735	Sambhaji Angre takes the E. I. Co.'s ship Derby of 470 tons.
April 19, 1736	Sidi Sat killed in a battle by Chimnaji Appa.

Nov. 25, 1736	Peace between the Marathas and the Sidis concluded.
Feb. 18, 1737	Marathas took by storm the fortress of Ater.
March 26, 1737	Marathas took by storm the fortress of Ater.
March 26, 1737	Chimnaji Appa takes by surprise the Portuguese district of Salsette near Bombay.
March 28, 737	Bajirao attacks Delhi.
Dec. 13, 1737	Battle of Bhopal between Bajirao and Nizam-ul-mulk.
Jan. 8, 1738	The Nizam sues for peace which is granted.
Jan. 1739	Marathas invade Goa.
Feb. 26 1739	Nadir Shah enters Delhi.
April 21, 1739	The Viceroy of Goa agrees by a treaty, to pay 40 p.c. of the yearly revenues to the Peshwa.
May 5, 1739	Bassein capitulated to Chimnaji Appa. Nadir Shah leaves Delhi.
May 12, 1739	An English embassy sent to Satara.
July 12, 1739	Anglo-Maratha treaty concluded.
November 1739	Chaul coded to the Marathas.
April 22, 1740	Bajirao died.
May 9, 1740	Marathas enter Arcot. Nabob Dost Ali Khan killed in battle.
June 25, 1740	Balaji Bajirao appointed Peshwa.
Dec. 17 1740	Chimnaji Appa died.
March 13, 1741	Trichinopoly surrendered to the Marathas.
Dec. 12, 1741	Sambhaji Angre died.

May 1742	Marathas enter Bengal, and plunder Murshidabad.
July 19, 1745	Ranoji Shinde, the founder of the present Native State of Gwalior, died.
April 15, 1748	Kuhhammad Shah died.
April 16, 1748	His eldest son Ahmad Shah ascended the throne.
Aug. 15, 1748	Sagunabai, Shahu's younger queen, died.
Dec. 15, 1749	Shahu died.
Jan. 4, 1750	Ramraja became king of Satara.

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